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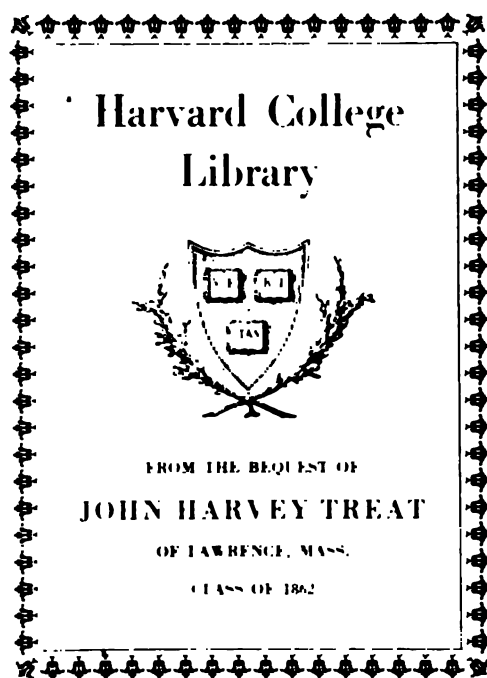
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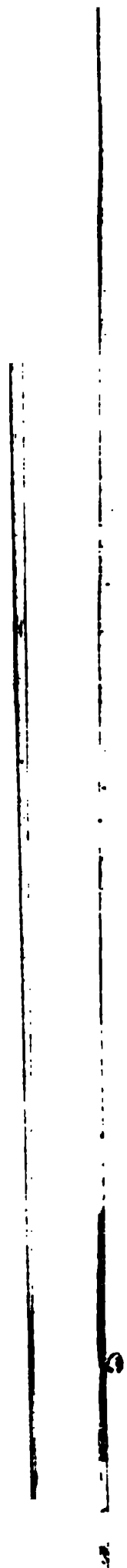
Glasgow Ecclesiological Society

SPECIAL ISSUE

ABERDEEN

PRINTED FOR THE TWO SOCIETIES

1902





CORONATION OF ALEXANDER III. (1249).

Highland Bard rehearsing the King's Pedigree.

From a Fifteenth Century MS. of Fordun's *Scotichronicon*, Library of
Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
ABERDEEN ECCLESIOLOGICAL SOCIETY
AND OF THE
GLASGOW ECCLESIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

SPECIAL ISSUE

MDCCCCII

FOUR SCOTTISH CORONATIONS

BY THE
REV. PROFESSOR COOPER, D.D.
PRESIDENT OF THE ABERDEEN ECCLESIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

PUBLISHED AT THE REQUEST OF THE TWO SOCIETIES

Aberdeen
PRINTED FOR THE TWO SOCIETIES

1902

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NOTE.

While gratefully complying with the request wherewith the Aberdeen Ecclesiological Society and the Glasgow Ecclesiological Society have honoured me to print the following Paper, I deem it only fair to the Members to say that I alone am responsible for its contents. It is the rule in both Societies, that the responsibility for each Article rests on the writer of that Article.

8, THE COLLEGE,
GLASGOW, 17th May, 1902.

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FOUR SCOTTISH CORONATIONS SINCE THE REFORMATION.

THE august solemnity which, by God's good hand upon us, will be fulfilled on Thursday the 26th of June this year in the Abbey Church of Westminster—the Coronation of His Most Sacred Majesty King Edward VII., King by the Grace of God “of all the Britains” and of our Gracious Queen Alexandra—is of a nature that requires, both on the Sovereign's part and on his subjects,' a serious and heedful preparation.

Were it indeed no more than a court pageant, it would need to be prepared for. No ceremony of any kind can be well performed, which has not been duly arranged beforehand. And a Royal Coronation is a ceremony as complicated as it is rich and splendid. The vast and honourable assemblage must be duly marshalled: his proper place must be assigned to every one. The Thrones must be set, the pavements strewn with carpets, the Altar decked; the Regalia must be brought to the Abbey from the Tower; the oil for the Anointing and the Royal Oblations¹ must be prepared; the words of the old Service must be adjusted to the new occasion; the music will have to be practised, the great officers of Church and State, and the King and Queen themselves, must be informed as to their several parts. Already, for months, a court has been sitting to adjudicate on the claims of those who allege a title to take part in the proceedings; and from Easter till well on in June the Abbey will be in the hands of workmen charged with the task of fitting it up for the great solemnity.

But the Coronation is no mere pageant. It is meant not to be “a dark and dumb ceremony” but a speaking and illuminating one; ordered so that it shall, in

¹ It is announced that in the coronation of King Edward VII. the ‘First Oblation’ will be omitted. As used at the coronation of William IV. this ceremony (which dates from the Fourteenth Century) was as follows:—“The King, supported by the two Bishops of Durham and Bath and Wells, and attended as always by the Dean of Westminster, two lords that carry the Regalia going before him, goes to the altar, and kneeling, uncovered, upon the steps of it makes his first oblation, which is a pall or altar-cloth of gold, delivered by the Master of the Great Wardrobe to the Lord Great Chamberlain, and by him, kneeling, to his Majesty; and an ingot or wedge of gold of a pound weight . . . [these] his Majesty, kneeling, delivers to the Archbishop, who receives first the pall, to be reverently laid upon the altar, and then the gold to be received into the basin and with like reverence put upon the altar.” The Queen also offered a pall. Abbreviation of the service was no doubt necessary, but many will regret the omission of a rite which expressed so beautifully the duty of a Christian king towards the Church of God, which is expressly prescribed in prophecy (Ps. lxxii. 10, 15; Isa. lx. 9), and was exemplified by the Wise men at our Lord's Nativity (S. Matt. ii. 11). We can only hope that if their Majesties lay it aside on an occasion when the ceremonies are very numerous, they may see fit, perhaps in their own persons, to perform it some time at the Feast of the Epiphany, where a sort of ghost of it still survives.

every detail, be significant, eloquent, persuasive, as to the nature of the Office with whose outward emblems the King and Queen will that day be invested. It is designed throughout with the purpose of exhibiting before the eyes of the Empire represented in the Abbey the theory of the Kingship and the Crown of Britain.

Considered in this light also, the announcement of it is a call, alike to the King and to his subjects, to study beforehand the history and the constitution of our ancient Realm; that all may discern, acknowledge, and mutually perform their several parts, whether high or humble, in the body politic.

But over and above all this, the coming Coronation will wear another and more sacred character. It will be an Act of Religious Worship, done in the House of God and towards God, by the hands of the Ministers of God.

Like all our religious services, though in a very eminent degree, the Act will be a complex one.

(1) There will be in it, to begin with, a public expression of the Nation's Christianity—of our Catholic Orthodoxy. The Nicene Creed and the *Te Deum* (which is the Creed in poetry) will both be sung. The King will promise before God to maintain alike the Nation's liberties and the Church's rights. He reigns "by the Grace of God," with the glad acceptance of a loyal people. They will therefore recognize his title; and he will receive his Crown as from the King of Kings. The Primate will gird him with the Sword, in token that he is ordained by God, *a minister of God for good, . . . a minister of God, an avenger for wrath to him that doeth evil.*¹ In his right hand he will place the Sceptre, Cross-topped, *the Rod of Jesus' strength,*² and in his left the Sceptre with the Dove, the emblem of the Holy Ghost—for the prerogative of mercy. He will robe him with the Pall, in shape like a Churchman's cope, the most dignified of ecclesiastical vestments; he will deliver to him the Cross-crowned Orb, reminding him how "the whole world is subject to the power and empire of "Christ our Redeemer;" and the Holy Bible, the Royal Law, which a Christian King must keep and do.³

All these, with the Sermon, will tell the King of the great powers, and the holy vocation, bestowed on him by God; and of the corresponding duties God requires him to perform.

(2) But the service will not consist only of such acts as these. It will be rich in witness to God's readiness and grace to enable the King for the fulfilling of his sacred and tremendous calling. It will be mingled with prayers to God to send down on him and on his Consort the Holy Ghost, to fit them for their duties; they will be anointed by God's minister as a sign and token of God's willingness to

¹ Romans xiii. 4. (R.V.)

² In allusion to the promise to our Ascended Lord in Ps. cx. 2. *The Lord shall send forth the rod of Thy strength out of Zion.* This is why this Sceptre is topped with a Cross.

³ cf. Deut. xvii. 18; and S. James ii. 8.

give what He hath promised, *the Holy Ghost to them that ask Him*,¹ and they will receive together the Communion of the Body and Blood of Christ, not alone for their individual nourishment unto everlasting life, but expressly "that they may be enabled to the discharge of their weighty office, whereunto of His great goodness He hath called and appointed them."² Here at least there will be not simply their (and the Nation's) prayer but God's *answer* thereto, out of His holy place.

By the law of the English Coronation it is the Dean of Westminster's duty to put the King in mind beforehand of the sacred character of the great solemnity, and to exhort him therefore to take a certain space for prayer and meditation prior to his going to the Abbey. Our Society is, alike by its work and constitution, a religious one. Its first object is to "study the Principles of Christian Worship." It is, accordingly, in view of these principles that I approach the theme on which I am to speak. I shall deal with the Four Coronations not so much in their political or spectacular aspects, as in their adaptation to their two-fold purpose—the expression of Christian doctrine, and the ministration of Divine grace.

I.

SCOTTISH CORONATIONS BEFORE THE REFORMATION.

It is needful, however, for our understanding of the Four Coronations I am specially to treat of, that I should premise a little as to the Ceremonies observed at Scottish Coronations in the times before the Reformation.

The details of these which have come down to us may be meagre, but at least the line goes back to a remote antiquity. The Apostle of Scotland, S. Columba himself, was the minister at the making of a King of Scots, the first of the Dalriad Kings whose accession took place after the coming of the great missionary into Scotland—Aidan M'Gabhrain. If no more illustrious priest could have been found to minister the rite, Aidan seems to have been equally worthy to head the roll of those on whom it was performed. "The great Prince," so the late Marquess of Bute describes him, "from whom not only is our present Royal Family descended,

¹The Anointing, which constitutes the 8th section of our Coronation service, was considered by such Fathers as S. Augustine (Adv. Petilium II. 112) and S. Gregory the Great, as partaking of the nature of a Sacrament, as indelible, and as conveying spiritual jurisdiction as the delivery of the Crown conferred temporal power. It is, at the very least, an impressive symbol of a gift whereof the Church can give *assurance* since God hath promised it to *them that ask Him* (S. Luke xi 13). The ceremony of the Anointing begins with the Hymn, *Veni Creator*, and contains (a) Petitions to God the Father to strengthen and confirm the Sovereign with the Holy Ghost the Comforter; (b) a Prayer in the act of Unction, "Be you anointed," etc., and (c) a Prayer to God the Son, the Anointed of the Father, to "pour down upon your Head and Heart the blessing of the Holy Ghost," and prosper the work of your hands. Can we doubt that the Divine Gift is given to those who with the prayer of faith, receive the rite?

²These are the words at the King's oblation of the Communion Elements in the Coronation Service. If the King and Queen receive at their Coronation the Holy Communion for this purpose, surely it is proper that the Clergy and people throughout their realm should make it part of their observance of the day in their several parishes to receive the same Sacrament for grace to fulfil their duties as the King's subjects.

and in right of whom they may be said to reign, but who undoubtedly was the first monarch who proclaimed the national independence of the Scottish Kingdom, and who is regarded by Dr. Skene as the founder of the Scottish Monarchy more really than even Fergus MacErc, while he seems also to have been the last man who actually represented the Roman Emperors as commanding the united forces of all Christian Britain."¹

This Coronation took place in the year A.D. 574; and is described in almost identical terms by the two ancient biographers of S. Columba, Cuimine the Fair (Abbot of Iona, who died in 669) and S. Adamnan. Cuimine's words are as follows:—"At another time when he (Columba) was dwelling in the Isle Himba, on a certain night he was rapt into a mental ecstasy, and saw the Angel of the Lord sent unto him, carrying in his hands a glass book of the Ordination of Kings. He took it from the hands of the Angel and began to read it. But when he refused to ordain Aidan according to the command of the Angel, because he loved his brother better, he was suddenly smitten with a scourge by the hand of the Angel, the mark of the bruise whereof remained in his side all the days of his life. The Angel also uttered this word: Know for a surety that I am sent from God that thou mayest ordain Aidan King, and if thou wilt not, I will smite thee again. When therefore the Angel had given the same command on three successive nights, the Saint of God passed over to the Iouan Island (Iona) and there ordained Aidan King by the laying-on-of-hands. Also, amidst the words of ordination, he prophesied things to come concerning his sons, and his grandsons, and his great-grandsons." S. Adamnan adds to this only two particulars, (both of them, however, of interest to those engaged as we are on an enquiry concerning the Form and Manner of the Service) (1) that the Saint laid his hand upon Aidan's head, and ordained him with Benediction (*ordinans benedixit*); and (2) that S. Columba's "prophecy" contained the warning—"lest by their evil counsels they should lose *the Sceptre* of this Kingdom."

The use of the term *Ordination* here is noteworthy; and not less noteworthy is the fact that the two rites appropriated from Apostolic times to the ordination of a Presbyter in the Church of God—Prayer, and the Laying on of hands, were both performed on the King. This means, if words and acts mean anything, that the King's Office—though different from a priest's—was felt to be, like a priest's, a sacred one. And this view of it has been held ever since in both the Kingdoms which make up Great Britain. In Scotland, the order which comes from the Privy Council to the clergy at each Sovereign's Accession is to pray for his most Sacred Majesty:² in England, the same truth is expressed in the Coronation service, not only by the Unction, but by the solemn vesting of the King in robes of a sacerdotal character—tunicle, stole, and pallium or dalmatic. It is a maxim of English Law, "Rex

¹ Scottish Coronations, p. 22.

² At the beginning of the present reign the distinction was marked between the reigning Sovereign and his Consort. "*His most Sacred Majesty King Edward VII., our Gracious Queen Alexandra, etc.*"

unctus non mera persona laica, sed mixta.”¹ If it be asked why, if this were so, S. Columba, who was accustomed to call in a bishop to ordain his priests, himself, (though he was no more than a presbyter) performed the office upon the King, the answer may be found either (1) in his prophetic character which, in Old Testament times, had sufficed for Samuel and for Elisha’s messenger, and under the Gospel for the prophets which were at Antioch consecrating SS. Paul and Barnabas;² or (2) in his assured position as the chief ecclesiastic of the Scottish nation.³

The patriotic industry and liturgical learning of the late Marquess of Bute has enabled him not only to make out the probably Order, or Ceremony, of King Aidan’s Ordination, but also to recover thy very Prayer with which S. Columba blessed him.

These Ceremonies seem to have been ten in number ; and it is remarkable how long they continued in use. They were as follows :—

I. The Election. The King could be chosen, indeed, only out of a certain family, but he had to be chosen ; and though in later times the succession became fixed from father to son, yet were there cases where the transmission not being direct, the older method of Election was formally resorted to. Thus the first Stewart King, Robert II., was elected at Linlithgow by the assembly of the Three Estates (1370) and afterward crowned at Scone ; and a relic of the practice remained to the very last. In the cases alike of Charles I. and Charles II. a deputation of the Estates waited on the King on the morning of his Coronation day to offer him the Crown, and ask him to accept the same.

II. The King elect “was clothed in a white habit to shew his innocence and integrity of heart, that he would be a light to his people and maintain the true Religion.” It is curious that while at his Scottish Coronation Charles I. went to church clad in a ‘princely’ robe of crimson velvet, to be exchanged during the ceremony for the Royal robe of purple ; at his Coronation in English, where the

¹ Lyndwood III. 2. On the limits of the King’s spiritual power in the Church of England, see the *Thirty-nine Articles*, “We give not to our Princes the ministering either of God’s Word or of the Sacraments ; but that only prerogative, which we see to have been given always to all godly Princes in Holy Scriptures by God Himself ; that is, that they should rule all estates and degrees committed to their charge by God, whether they be Ecclesiastical or Temporal, and restrain with the civil sword the stubborn and the evil-doers” (Art. xxxvii.) Similarly in the Coronation Service itself, at the Inthronization, the Archbishop, standing before the King, addresses him “Stand firm, and hold fast the seat and State of Royal and Imperial Dignity which is this day delivered unto you in the Name, and by the Authority of Almighty God, and by the hands of Us the Bishops and servants of God although unworthy ; And as you see Us to approach nearer to God’s Altar, so vouchsafe the more graciously and continue to Us your Royal Favour and Protection. And the Lord God Almighty, whose Ministers we are, and the Stewards of His Mysteries, establish your Throne in Righteousness, that it may stand fast for evermore, like as the sun before Him, and as the faithful witness in heaven. Amen.”

² 1 Sam. x. 1 ; xvi. 13 ; II. Kings ix. 6 ; Acts xiii. 3. The ordination of Aidan as performed by S. Columba appears to be based directly on the ordination by Moses of Joshua as his successor. “Moses laid his hands on him and gave him a charge. See Numbers xxvii. 15-23.

³ “In Ireland the right of inaugurating the O’Neill belonged to the Primate of Armagh, the successor of S. Patrick the right of inaugurating the princes of Tirconnel to the O’Firghils, the hereditary counts or lay abbots of Kilmacrenan.” Joseph Robertson, *Statuta Ecclesiae Scoticae* I. xxi. note.

custom had been for his predecessors to come in purple, he chose the ancient Celtic white, to "declare" as he said, "that virgin purity with which he came to be espoused unto his Kingdom."¹

III. The Inauguration on the Stone. It is not quite certain that the Stone of Scone was the Stone of Iona; but such is the tradition, and a similar custom was the rule among the Celtic princes. We may therefore believe, with the English poet and divine who has just been singing so enthusiastically the praises of our Highland Saint:—

"His blessing rests upon the Stone of Fate,
Initial throne of British Sovereignty!
Round that mysterious Stone where Aidan sate,
Successive hosts in loyal ecstasy,
With growing power of circumstantial state,
Shall gather near in ages far away,
With life still strong, though fading figures flee,
To bless the rock-born Empire from that day,
Claimant of deathless rule, while Heaven inspires her sway."²

IV. The Coronation Oath. The Oath which King Aidan took may not impossibly be most preserved to as in the old Northumbrian Pontifical of Egbert:—³
"Thou mayest see here the first commandments of the King of the people."

"It is right that when a King hath been newly ordained and lifted up upon his throne, he should command these three commandments to the Christian people subject unto him."

"First, that the Church of God and all Christian people should keep true peace at every time. Amen."

"The second is, that he forbid robberies and all iniquities unto all degrees. Amen."

"The third is that he command righteousness and mercy in all judgment, that hereby the compassionate and merciful God may grant his mercy unto us. Amen."

V. The Assembling of the friends and followers of the King around his throne—represented to this day by the gathering of the Bishops and Peers of the Realm for the Coronation.

VI. The giving of the White Rod, or Sceptre of Strength—in allusion to Psalm cx. 2.

VII. The Investiture with the Sword.

VIII. The Recitation by the chief Druid, or orator, of the King's pedigree, with a panegyric on the mighty deeds of his ancestors, and an exhortation to the new Monarch to shew himself worthy of his blood. Was it in this connexion that S.

¹ *Coronation Order of Charles I.* (Bradshaw Society) p. 6, n. The analogy of a Coronation to a Marriage, which impressed the Royal Martyr, had such weight with the Scottish Divines at the Coronation of his mother, Anne of Denmark, that they waived, *on this ground*, the objection they had taken to its being performed on a Sunday.

² R. M. Benson, *Saint Columba*.

³ The Northumbrian Church owed its Christianity to Iona, where its sainted King, Oswald, was educated. It will be observed that it speaks of the King as *ordained, lifted to the throne and sceptered*.

Columba, who was no mean poet, uttered his memorable prophecy? The ceremony, omitted at the Scottish Coronation of Charles I., was duly performed at that of his son.

IX. The Mass, or Holy Communion, preceded by a seven-fold Blessing, pronounced upon the King by seven separate priests. Seven Prayers, answering to the Celtic usage, occur in the Pontifical of Egbert, and the Fourth (or central one) of the group is conjectured by Lord Bute to be the same which Columba offered while his "hand rested on the head of Aidan." It is too long for me to give in full, but I extract the following :—

"Lord, Who from everlasting governest the Kingdom of all Kings, bless Thou this ruling prince.

And glorify him with such blessing that he may hold the sceptre of salvation in the exaltation of David, and be found rich with the gifts of sanctifying mercy.

Grant unto him by Thine inspiration even so to rule the people in meekness as Thou didst cause Solomon to obtain a Kingdom of peace . . .

Be Thou unto him a breastplate against the array of his enemies, an helmet in adversity, temperance in prosperity, and in protection an everlasting shield . . .

As it hath pleased Thee this day in Thy mercy to set him comely before us, so make him safe under Thy protection through the rounds of many years.

Which do Thou (O Christ) be pleased to grant, Who livest and reignest with the Eternal Father, together with the Holy Ghost, one God, for ever and ever. Amen."¹

X. The Feast, or Banquet.

It will be observed that in all this there is no mention, and no trace, of either of the two acts which will be prominent features of King Edward's Coronation. Neither Cuminine nor S. Adamnan say one word of *Unction* or of *Crowning*, and in point of fact both of these rites were late, although significant, additions at the inauguration of our Scottish Sovereigns.

A period of no less than five centuries elapses between S. Columba and King Aidan on the one hand and Malcolm III. (Canmore) on the other. How, during that interval, the Stone of Destiny found its way from the Western Islet to the banks of Tay, and Scone replaced Iona as the Crowning-place of the Scottish Kings, can only be conjectured. The sanctity of the latter spot appears to date from 906, when "Constantine the King and Kellach the Bishop swore together with the Scots, on the Mount of Belief, beside the Royal city of Scone, to keep the laws and customs of the Faith, and the rights of the Churches and the Gospels, so that from that day to this that Mount has had the name of the Mount of Belief." But however the change came about, it proved a lasting one. Edward I. carried the Stone to England, and contemplated the complete obliteration of the hill; but the mount

¹ The entire Prayer is translated by Lord Bute, in whose pages may be seen also the reasons for ascribing it to S. Columba.

escaped *his* fury, to be "swept away at last by Scottish hands, almost in our own day ; though not until a King of Scotland had been crowned King of England upon its Fated Stone at Westminster, and not until it had beheld the inaguration of his grandson, the last sovereign crowned in Scotland."¹

In the closing lines of Shakespere's Scottish tragedy, a Prince whose signal abilities, and still more his marriage with Saint Margaret, made his reign the beginning of a new and brighter era in our nation's history, Malcolm Canmore, having bidden his,

"Thanes and kinsmen
Henceforth be earls,"

proceeds to invite them

To see Us crowned at Scone.

Unfortunately our own annalists have not enabled *us* to be present at that ceremony : they tell us only that Malcolm received the kingdom (1057); of Alexander I. the phrase is no less meagre, "he succeeded to the kingdom." Perhaps the historians were wise in their generation. For we learn from S. Ailred, the biographer of King David I., that the ceremonies which the ancestral customs of the Scots prescribed at the promotion of a King were so abhorrent to that cultivated and saintly monarch that he could scarcely be persuaded by the bishops to undergo them. They were followed, none the less, in the case of his grandson, Malcolm the Maiden (1153), who was made King at Scone,² according to the custom of the nation." There too William the Lion, by Richard, Bishop of S. Andrews, and the other prelates assisting him was "lifted aloft into the Royal chair." There Alexander II. on S. Nicholas' Day (Dec. 6th) 1214, was "raised to the throne" in the presence of William Malvoisin, Bishop of S. Andrews, and the Seven Earls—of the seven provinces of Scotland, Fife, Stratherne, Atholl, Angus, Menteith, Buchan, and Lothian.³ The Coronation of his son, Alexander III. (1249) was long remembered ; and we have interesting details regarding it. The ceremony was preceded by an ominous dispute. The King was but eight years old ; and on the pretext that he should be knighted before he was made King, Durward, the Justiciar, advised delay, meaning, it was feared, a mischief to the boy, or, perhaps, to hand over Scotland itself to Henry III. of England.

"While they were arguing," says Fordun, "the Lord Walter Comyn, Earl of Menteith, a man foreseeing and shrewd in counsel, answered and said, that he had seen a King consecrated who was not yet a knight, and had heard of many. A

¹ Stat. Eccl. Scot. I. p. xx.

² In the Book of Hexham (Surtees Soc.) and Symeon of Durham (Rolls Series) the word is printed *Scotiam* erroneously. See Sir Arch. Dunbar's *Scottish Kings*.

³ This division of the country is the memorial of a time when the regions North and West of the Spey were no part of the Scottish Kingdom, being either under native princes who were virtually independent, or in the hands of the Norsemen. Lothian was English, Strathclyde was British or Welsh, and Galloway, though Pictish, was under princes of its own.

country without a king, he urged, was like a ship amid sea-billows without a rower or a steersman. For he had always loved King Alexander, and he loved this boy also for his father's sake. So he moved that he be raised to the throne as speedily as might be, because it is always hurtful to put off what may be done at once. Whereupon all the Clergy—having joined to them a number of the Earls—the Lord Malcolm, Earl of Fife, the Lord Malise, Earl of Stratherne, and many other nobles, led Alexander, soon to be king,¹ to the Cross which stands in the churchyard at the east end (*ex parte orientali*) of the Church of Scone. There they set him on the Royal Throne, which was decked with silken cloths inwoven with gold; and the Bishop of S. Andrews² consecrated him King, as was meet. So the King sate down upon his Royal Throne, *that is, the Stone*, while the Earls and other nobles, on bended knee, spread their garments under his feet before the Stone," as the captains did to Jehu in the Old Testament³ and the disciples to our Saviour in His entry to Jerusalem as Zion's King.⁴ "Now this Stone is reverently kept in the same Monastery, for the Coronation of the Kings of Alban; and no King was ever wont to reign in Scotland unless he had first, on receiving the name of King, sate upon this Stone at Scone, which by the Kings of old had been appointed the head-place of Alban. And, lo! when all was over, a Highland Scot (*Scotus montanus*) suddenly fell on his knees before the throne, and bending his head, in his mother tongue saluted him in these Scottish [*i.e.* Gaelic] words:—Benach de Re Albanne Alexander Mac Alexander,"⁵ and recited his whole pedigree up to "Fergus the first of the Scots to be King in Alban."⁶

But S. David's dislike to some things in the Scottish form, though ineffectual at the time, had not been expressed in vain. With the spread of refinement and the revival of religion, the old heathen, or barbarous, accessories were bound to drop off; into such of the old ceremonies as were retained the new spirit breathed its nobler thoughts; and those rites were sought which, in England and on the Continent, Christianity had already suggested as the fittest symbolical expression of its doctrine concerning Kingship.

Ere long, in Scotland, patriotism came in to reinforce the taste of the cultivated

¹ The Coronation, be it noted, is here the *making* as well as the *hallowing* of the King.

² David de Bernham, whose *Pontifical* gives the long list of parish churches which he consecrated (on the completion of their endowment) and the Service he used in doing so.

³ 2 Kings ix. 13.

⁴ S. Mathew xxi. 8.

⁵ Fordun. *Annals* c. xlvi. The *Book of Pluscarden* gives a somewhat different account of the ceremony. King Alexander III. was after his father's death raised to the throne . . . and as usual arrayed in the insignia of royalty, *anointed and crowned*. Afterwards, however, as was the custom of old they led the King in all the royal robes to a certain cross in the cemetery on the east side, with the whole multitude of the people, and there set him in great state on the Royal Chair of stone and marble which was brought from Egypt." vii. 14.

⁶ It is this part of the ceremony (performed after the ecclesiastical rite) which is pictured for us in the drawing (from the MS. of Fordun in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge) of which I am enabled to give an illustration. It will be observed that the Highlander wears what we are accustomed to call 'the full Highland dress' plaid, kilt, sporran, and brogues, while the sleeves of his doublet are profusely ornamented with balls or buttons. The MS. dates from the Fifteenth Century.

and the aspirations of the devout. Unction and Crowning were now everywhere the marks of an independent sovereign. English or Welsh writers, like Giraldus Cambrensis (about 1220), openly sneered at the Princes of the Scots, who had the name, indeed, of Kings, but were not accustomed either to be crowned or anointed to their office. Alexander II., accordingly, seven years after his inauguration at Scone, petitioned the Pope that he might be crowned by a representative of the Apostolic See. The Pope refused, because the King of Scots, he said, was subject to the King of England, and could be crowned only with his consent. A second request, made twelve years later, was successfully opposed by Henry III. and by the Archbishop of York, who claimed a primacy over the Scottish bishops. But Henry failed to get a mandate from Pope Innocent IV. forbidding the anointing or crowning of Alexander III.; the Scots counted this a victory; and from this time, at any rate, the latter rite—the placing of a crown on the King's head—in some form was observed. That a crown was already worn—at least as a Royal ornament—may be inferred from the portraits on an illuminated initial letter of a charter (1159) to the Abbey of Kelso, in which David I. and Malcolm the Maiden are represented side by side enthroned and wearing crowns of gold. King David carries in one hand a bared Sword, and in the other a Ball; Malcolm has a Sceptre, and the sheathed Sword is laid across his knees. One is tempted to fancy that the Stone of Destiny is in both cases shown under the Throne. On the other hand, neither Alexander I. (1107-1124) on his seal appended to two charters to the monks of S. Cuthbert, nor David I. in a charter to Arnold of Swinton, nor Malcolm IV. in one to the Prior of Coldingham, nor William the Lion (1164-1214), nor Alexander II., in a charter of 1236, wear crowns of any sort; but all of them are robed in the imperial Pall, and carry an Orb-like Sceptre¹ and the bared Sword. John Balliol—the last

¹ It is a ball surrounded with a long-shafted cross. If, in the illuminated portrait of David I. the Cross is obscured, its shaft is particularly long on a seal of Alexander II. of date 1236: on his seal the identity of the Orb with the Cross-crowned Sceptre is quite obvious. An Orb as distinguished from a Sceptre is not mentioned as among the 'Honours' of Scotland. In England, in early times, there was no Orb either; for what appears as an Orb on the seal, for example, of William the Conqueror and in the Westminster portrait of Richard II., seems to be, as on the Scottish seals, simply a Gothic, or Orb-like Sceptre. It is not till after the destruction of the old English regalia in the Great Rebellion that an Orb makes its appearance in addition to the Cross-crowned Sceptre, and it was in the latter capacity that it was delivered to Charles II. at his Coronation in Westminster Abbey. The separate delivery of the Orb, and the accompanying address, are due to Archbishop Sancroft, to whom it fell to prepare the Order for the Coronation of James II. (1685). The interpolation has been censured on liturgical grounds (see F. C. Eeles, *The English Coronation Service*, and *Church Quarterly Review*, April, 1902); but it may be pardoned for its excellent doctrine. The confusion, moreover, if such there be, is older than Sancroft; and if that conscientious Primate erred, it was in no less a company than Shakespeare's:—

"And yet the eighth appears, who bears a glass
Which shews me many more; and some I see
That two-fold Balls and treble Sceptres carry."

Macbeth, v. 1.

Shakespeare evidently distinguishes the Orb from the Sceptre, and regards the former as the ensign of the independent Kingdoms of England and Scotland: Ireland, till Henry VIII.'s time, only a Dominion, yielding to its King a Sceptre merely.

King of Scots crowned at Scone on the Stone of Destiny—is represented on his seal crowned and carrying a flowered sceptre ; and the Throne is a new one, of Gothic tabernacle work, with no sign of the Stone. We trace his crown itself in an entry of an English Chronicle (1330) that “ the golden Crown-Royal of the Kingdom of the Scots ” was taken from Balliol’s coffers at the port of Dover, and sent as an offering to the shrine of S. Thomas of Canterbury. For the Coronation of King Robert Bruce (27th March, 1306)—itself an act of no small boldness,—a new crown, or rather coronet,¹ was hastily constructed, and was set on the patriot’s brow by a brave lady, the Countess of Buchan, a member of the family of Macduff, Earls of Fife, to whose house this privilege is said by Bower to have been granted as an hereditary right by Malcolm Canmore.² It is not very easy to reconcile this statement with that of the King in his letter to Pope John XXII,³ to the effect that the investiture of the Scottish sovereign with the insignia of royalty had always been performed by the Bishop of St. Andrews, unless, indeed, we are to suppose that the insignia to which the King Robert referred were rather the Sceptre (of Psalm cx.) and the Sword (of Romans xiii.); and that the Crown, when its use was first introduced in Scotland, was treated rather as a civil ornament than as an emblem of God-committed sway. The Coronation of Robert Bruce, however, was in more respects than one exceptional. It was probably wise, in the circumstances, for the Bishops to abstain from actually crowning a prince who was in the eyes of the Church, an excommunicated homicide. They gave him all the countenance they dared ; for not only were several of them present, but his coronation Robes were made—perhaps out of cope or chasuble—in the Cathedral sacristy at Glasgow, and the “ Banner of Scotland ” was sent from the same church by the same patriotic (if perjured) prelate, to wave over Bruce’s head.⁴

But what Robert Bruce enjoyed not for himself, the “ success of his arms and the wisdom of his counsels,” enabled him to bequeath to his successors on the Scottish throne. Among the signs to all men of the Independence he had won for Scotland, that her Crown was not tributary but imperial, and “ her Throne on a

¹ The MSS. read either coronetta or coronella.

² So the Cronykil :

“ The first quhilk was ane priviledge conding,
The Eill of Fyffe quhen crownit wes the King,
Onto his chyir sald him convoy and leid,
The crown of gold syne set upoun his heid,
With his awin hand all service for to mak.
As president most principall of that act.”

I am obliged for this quotation to a Paper by Mr. John B. Reid, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 1889-90. Mr. Reid conjectures that the Earl of Fife enjoyed this honour as “ the chief man of that very province in which there are grounds for thinking that the supremacy of the Eastern Scots had been longest established.” But see Joseph Robertson’s opinion *supra*.

³ Sometimes enumerated as Pope John xxi. So by the Marquess of Bute. We possess, however, the King’s statement only in an indirect form as quoted, perhaps inaccurately, in the Pope’s reply.

⁴ Joseph Robertson, “ *Cathedrals and Abbeys of Scotland*.”

level with those of the other nations of Latin Christendom"¹ one of the most striking was undoubtedly the Bull whereby Pope John XXII. granted to "Robert the illustrious King of Scotland" the "right to receive Anointing and Coronation by the sacred hand of a pontiff."² The Bull goes on to appoint both rites to be performed by the Bishop of S. Andrews, whom failing by the Bishop of Glasgow; and it introduces a new and painful feature. The bishop officiating at the coronation was required to exact an oath from the King that he would do his utmost to root out of his dominions all whom the Church should denounce as heretics.³ Bruce, however, never saw this Bull: it was written six days after his decease, and is dated Avignon, 13th June, 1329.

It was thus the least reputable of all our Scottish Sovereigns, David II., who was the first *with full rites* to be inaugurated King. "We do not read," says Fordun, "that any of the Kings of Scotland before this David were Anointed, or *with such solemnity* Crowned." The crowning was performed by the chief prelate of the realm, "the Lord James Ben, Bishop of S. Andrews, specially appointed for the performing of the rite." The ceremony took place at Scone on the 24th of November, 1331, and along with him was crowned and anointed his Queen, Joanna, the daughter of Edward II. of England, a lady to whose inheriting of part of her mother's library, and a visit in whose company to the splendid court of her brother, Edward III., has just been traced the first inspiration of the earliest of our Scottish poets.⁴ Only ten months later, on the same sacred spot, there was another Coronation, this time of a King whose name we do not care to number in our roll of sovereigns—Edward Balliol, whom the crushing defeat of the Scots at Dupplin had enabled the English, and his Scottish adherents, to exalt. Eleven weeks more, and the intruder, "one leg booted and the other naked," fled from Annan, and took refuge beyond the Border.

Robert II., the first of the Stewart dynasty—of whom Burnet says that he is the first King of whom it is actually recorded that he took a Coronation Oath,⁵ and who

¹ Professor Medley.

² A facsimile of the Bull, and an English translation of it, are given in the *Nat. MSS. of Scotland*.

³ "The oath failed to restrain Scotland from supporting the Anti-popes; but its intolerance, however fruitless, made it dear to a people whose perfervid genius cherished the right of persecution as a duty of religion, and it outlived both the Reformation and the Revolution . . . Knox would have aggravated its terms . . . the Convention which adopted the Claim of Right, stamped it with its approval . . . William III. was obliged to profess with his lips what he abhorred in his heart . . . Anne took the oath without reserve or scruple . . . The Union (1707) by substituting a declaration more in accord with the precedents of England, happily released all following princes from the wickedness and mockery of a cruel and impossible obligation." Joseph Robertson, *Statuta Eccl. Scotie*.—Pref. note.

⁴ See Mr. Neilson's Lectures on Huchown of the Awle Ryall; and compare, as illustrating the power of splendid ceremonial to call into effective play the imagination of a poet, the lines of Milton:—

"Such sights as youthful poets dream
On summer eve by haunted stream."

L' Allegro.

⁵ Bishop Burnet, *Vindication of the Church of Scotland*. Glasgow, 1673.

(as we have seen) was formally elected King of Scots—was crowned at Scone on the 26th of March, 1371: next day his eldest son John, Earl of Carrick and Steward of Scotland, was by the Scottish Parliament declared heir to the Scottish Crown. Two years later, Euphemia, the King's second wife, was crowned at Scone by the only Bishop of Aberdeen who was ever called on to perform the rite, Alexander de Kyninmond II., the builder of the oldest, and the noblest, surviving portion of Aberdeen Cathedral. If his work there is any index of his character, he was strong enough and stately for the most august of ceremonies.

At Scone also, the next King—his name of John, which was deemed unlucky, altered (as it turned out, in vain) to the more glorious Robert—was crowned and anointed, on the 14th of August, 1390, the Coronation of his Queen, Annabella, taking place on the day after. His son, James I., the poet, though a captive at the time in England, was declared "our King" on his father's death (1406): when, in 1424, he returned with his English bride, the theme of his glowing verse, the two were crowned together on the same day (21st May) at Scone by Henry Wardlaw, Bishop of S. Andrews, the founder of our oldest University; but lay rights, or lay pretensions, were in this case once more recognised, and a new precedent set; for the King was set upon the Throne by its next heir, the ex-Governor of the Kingdom, Murdoch Duke of Albany. The act was a sign, of course, that Murdoch himself acknowledged his kinsman's right.

The first Scottish Coronation to be solemnized in the Abbey Church of Holyrood was that of James II. Scone was too near Perth, the scene of his father's murder; and the Queen Mother had taken her son, who was but four years old, to Edinburgh for greater safety. S. Giles', though already a stately church, had not yet attained the rank of a cathedral, and the Abbey Church of Holyrood took precedence of it in point of dignity, and, no doubt, in the splendour of its furniture and the glory of its music. The ceremony took place on the Feast of the Annunciation (March 25th) 1437, the Bishop of Dunblane officiating, and the Three Estates of the Realm being present. In the same church also, on her wedding-day (3rd July, 1449) was fulfilled the Coronation of James's Queen, Mary of Gueldres: the first *Palace*, it is said, of Holyrood-house was built for her reception. Mary, who became afterwards the foundress of Trinity College Church, Edinburgh, was a great heiress; and, what was more, a woman of energy. When the tidings reached her at Edinburgh of the killing of her brave husband at the siege of Roxburgh, she took his infant son, King James III., to the spot; and, shewing him to the soldiers, so inspired their valour, that they redoubled their efforts and took the castle by assault. Two days later, on Sunday, August 10th, 1460, the child was crowned in the Abbey Church of Kelso (just across the Tweed from Roxburgh) by the hands of good Bishop Kennedy of S. Andrews, "the Jehoiada," as Dean Stanley happily describes him, "of the Scottish Church."

James IV. had led the rebellion in which his father perished. Within a month after his father's murder (June, 1488), he was crowned at Scone. His marriage with Margaret Tudor—who was to bring to their great-grandson such a magnificent in-

heritance,—was solemnized in the Chapel at Holyrood (1503); but the Queen's Coronation was deferred till the next year, and was performed not in a church at all, but in the Parliament Hall at Edinburgh. James IV. has been called, with more (I think) than justice, the noblest of the Stewarts; and unquestionably it was under him that Scotland attained to high importance in the politics of Europe. This is reflected even in his Regalia. Not only was he the first of our Kings to exhibit on his coins, and coats of arms, his crown as arched¹ Imperially; but two Popes, who were not men to throw away their presents, sent him gifts; Pope Alexander VI. sending him in 1494 the very beautiful Sceptre² still preserved among the "Honours of Scotland," and Pope Julius II. at Christmas, 1506, the no less splendid Sword.

The Royal Robes of James IV. were in existence in 1633 when Charles I. "chose" them to wear at his Scottish Coronation: what became of his Crown we know not. His Sceptre³ and Sword have been used at all subsequent Coronations in Scotland, and are those now shewn at Edinburgh Castle.

Alas! the first three who were girded with Pope Julius' Sword, all came to the throne in infancy!

The earliest of these was James V. He was crowned at Stirling, amid a nation's lamentations, on the 21st of September, 1513, twenty days after the fatal field of Flodden. His marriage (1st Jan., 1536-7) with Magdalen of France, the daughter of Francis I., was exceedingly popular in Scotland, and though she was in a consumption when she arrived, and had to be sent at once for change of air to the Abbey of Balmerino, the whole country was busy in preparing festivities for her approaching Coronation. Sir David Lindsay, who had gone to France for the wedding along with the gallant King, sings of the expected ceremony:—

"Thou shouldest have seen her coronation
In the fair Abbey of the Holy Rood
In presence of a mirthful multitude."

I am afraid he dwells rather on its festive side:—

"Sic banquetting, sic awful tournaments
On horse and foot that time that should have been!"

But he goes on:—

"Sic Chapel royal, with sic instruments
Of crafty music——"

¹ Snelling refers the arched crown on some of the groats to the reign of the artistic King James III., but Mr. Cochran Patrick assigns it to James IV., whose coat of arms on King's College Chapel, Aberdeen, is similarly surmounted. The beautiful crown depicted in the painting of James III. at Holyrood is not arched.

² The Sceptre was sent by the hands of one who has been described as James's "evil genius" (as Bishop Elphinstone was his "good genius"), Andrew Forman, successively Bishop of Moray and Archbishop of S. Andrews.

³ The Sceptre was, however, re-made, and made heavier, for James V. in 1536.—*Proceedings of Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 1889-90, p. 101.

The *should-have-been* was not to be. In the midst of all these preparations the Flower of France, was nipped by our cold northern winds, and died at Holyrood about eight weeks after her arrival.

The Coronation of James's second wife, Mary of Guise, was deferred for near two years after her marriage till the Queen had borne to her lord "a fair life-like son;" and when at last the crown-matrimonial, was to be set upon her head, a crown for her of 35 ounces weight, and a new crown for the King weighing no less than three pounds ten ounces—were made for the occasion. The Queen's Crown has disappeared; the King's Crown (it was re-made in 1540) is the one which has since been used and is still preserved.¹ Both crowns were of Scottish gold, extracted from a mine on Crawford Muir by skilled miners brought from the Queen's own country, the Haute Lorraine, the principal mining district in France. A sceptre also was made for her, of silver gilt. The ceremony performed by Cardinal David Beaton, took place in the Abbey Church of Holyrood on the 22nd (or 27th) of February, 1539-40.

Far less splendid, but far more touching, was the Coronation of her celebrated daughter, Mary, Queen of Scots. The poor "lass" was but a week old when (14th Dec., 1542) her father, broken-hearted, died at Falkland; in July 1543, Mary was removed for greater safety—for Scottish noble and English king were alike anxious to kidnap her—to Stirling Castle; but when their plots were "blown upon," and the clamours of the people began to alarm Arran, he made common cause with Beaton and the Queen-mother, and took prompt measures for the crowning of the child. Accordingly, on Sunday, 9th Sept., 1543, when Mary had barely completed her ninth month, she was wrapped in the Royal Robes and carried in solemn procession from Stirling Castle across the green into the spacious church adjacent. As Governor of Scotland, and the first Prince of the blood, the Earl of Arran bore the Crown: the Earl of Lennox, the father to be of Darnley, bore the Sceptre; and when they reached the church, Cardinal Beaton consecrated the little Queen, placed the Crown upon her infant brow, the Sceptre in her tiny hand, and girt her with the Sword of State. She was by no means the least fit of her race to wear it: if her son had had but half her spirit! One thinks of her in after life, as Randolph describes her in a vivid letter to Cecil, "riding on horseback, with a steel bonnet on her head and a pistol at her side in time of war, regretting only, as she said, that she was not a man, to know what life it was to lie all night in the fields, or to walk upon the causeway with a jack and knapskull, a Glasgow buckler and a broadsword."² Other details of her coronation are not recorded; but men observed, with much foreboding, that she ceased not to shed tears during the whole ceremony!

¹ For a full account of it see Mr. Reid's paper before referred to in the *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 1889-90, pp. 56-93.

² Quoted by Joseph Robertson, *Mémoires de la Reine d'Écosse*, xxiii.

II.

THE CORONATION OF JAMES VI.

With tears Mary received the crown : with hot tears streaming down her cheeks, she wrote in prison at Lochleven, under strong compulsion and threats of an ignominious death, her resignation of that crown ; gave permission for the Coronation of her infant son, King James VI. ; and constituted her " base brother " the Earl of Moray, Regent of the Kingdom (15th July, 1567).

The documents to which the Queen's signature had, under these circumstances, been obtained, were sealed with the Privy Seal by means of a further outrage, for its keeper, Thomas Sinclair, remonstrated, and only by threats and violence could be concussed into affixing it. Men who did things like this were not likely to be either scrupulous or idle in the execution of their purposes ; but if one wonders that the prelates and nobles of the Queen's party, who were both numerous and powerful, were satisfied with returning a polite declinature when the Confederate Lords invited them to James's Coronation, and with a protest that the act should not be prejudicial to the claims—not of Mary, but—of Arran, it must be remembered that the whole nation was convinced, at the moment, of the Queen's complicity in her husband's murder.¹

Four days before the ceremony, on the 25th July, " the Noblemen, Barons, and others undersubscrivand in this present Assembly of the Kirk of God "—for the Scottish Reformation had become an accomplished fact—" since it has pleased Almighty God of His mercy to give ane native Prince to this country apparent to be our Sovereign," agreed that " all Kings, Princes, and Magistrates² which hereafter in any time to come shall happen to reign and bear rule over the Realm, at their first entries, before they be crowned and inaugurate,³ shall make their faithful league and promise to the true Kirk of God, that they shall maintain, defend, and by all lawful means set forward the true Religion of Jesus Christ presentlie professed and established within this Realm, even as they are obliged and astricted in the Law of God, as well in Deuteronomy⁴ as in the 11th chapter of 2 .Kings ; and as they crave obedience of their subjects, so the bond to be mutual and re-

¹ Also the fact that Mary had married, with Protestant rites, a Protestant (Bothwell) had alienated from her for the moment both the Papal Court and the Scottish Roman Catholics.

² The possibility of some other government than the Monarchical seems here to be glanced at, and the suggestion may have intensified the suspicion felt by the Stuart Kings concerning certain of the Scottish Reformers and their successors. It will be noted, however, that this is prior to the establishment of a purely Presbyterian system of government in the Church of Scotland.

³ This is the position still held by the King's oath to maintain the Church of Scotland ; it is taken at his Accession.

⁴ Deut. xvii., 18-20.

ciprocous in all times coming betwixt the Prince and God, and His faithful (*sic*) and also His faithful people according to the Word of God.”¹

The Register of the Privy Council which records this notable “agreement” in the General Assembly, proceeds to tell us next how, at Stirling, on the 29th of July, 1567, “in the presence of noble and mighty lords, James Douglas Earl of Morton; John, Earl of Atholl; Alexander, Earl of Glencairn; John, Earl of Mar, . . . Adam, Bishop of Orkney . . . William Maitland of Lethington, John Erskine of Dun, Provost of Montrose, and divers of the Nobility, Spirituality, and commissars of Burghs, convened for Coronation of the right excellent Prince James, by the grace of God, Prince and Stewart of Scotland”—the protest of John, Archbishop of St. Andrews, and Gavin, Commendator of Kilwinning, was read in behalf of the Duke of Chatelherault (Arran); and how the same day, within the Kirk of Stirling, the said Lords and Estates convened, and “after invocation of the Name of God, Patrick, Lord Lindsay of the Byres, and William, Lord Ruthven,” produced Queen Mary’s letters signed and sealed, and the Sword, Sceptre and Royal Crown of the realm. The Queen’s letters were read. Poor lady! she was made to say, among much else, that “nothing earthly can be more comfortable and happy to Us in this earth, than in Our lifetime to see our most dear son, the native Princc of this Our Realm placed in the Kingdom thereof, and the Crown Royal set upon his head.” This done, and the Queen’s “renunciation and demission of her crown received,” Morton, “inclining his body and laying his hand upon the Book of God, in name and on behalf of his Grace” (the infant Prince) solemnly made oath that he would maintain “the true Religion of Jesus Christ, the preaching of His Holy Word, and the due and right administration of the Sacraments now received and practised within this Realm.” The rights of the Crown itself he would preserve, and—in words that savour of the old Iona rite—“perfect peace to his uttermost he would procure to the Kirk of God,” and “haill” Christian people; seeing, too, that “justice and equity shall be kept to all creatures without exception.” But alas! there is an exception. No mercy was to be shown to Papists. The Reformers had not learned, by the persecutions they had suffered, to abandon the principle of persecution; and Morton swore in King James’s name, in even ampler terms than the Papal Bull had enjoined on King Robert Bruce—though with an altered application—“I shall be careful to root out all hereticks *and enemies to the true worship of God* that shall be convicted by the true Kirk of the foresaid crimes.”

After Morton had taken, for the King, this tremendous Oath, “the said Lords of the Nobility, Spirituality, and Commissars of Burghs, as the Estates of the Realm, by the ministration of the said Reverend Father, Adam, Bishop of Orkney, anointed the said maist excellent Prince in King of this Realm and dominions thereof, invested and inaugurate His Grace therein, delivered into his hands the Sword and Sceptre, and put the Crown Royal upon his head, with all due reverence, ceremonies, and circumstances requirit and accustomed; and gave their oaths for due and

¹ *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, I. p. 536.

lawful homage and obedience to be made by them to him in all time coming, as becomes subjects to do to their native King and Prince. Whereupon Sir John Bellenden, Justice Clerk, in name of the said Estates, and also John Knox, minister, and Robert Campbell of Kinyeancleuch, asked acts, instruments and documents."¹

Our great Reformer, therefore, was present at this Coronation and a party to it, preaching, indeed, the Coronation Sermon, which Calderwood somewhat needlessly assures us was "excellent," though he does not so much as tell us the text. It is important therefore that we should note the *one* point in it to which Knox took objection. He himself, indeed, though he tells us that he preached,² records nothing that offended him, but Calderwood may be believed when he asserts that "Knox and other preachers repyned at the anointing. Yet he was anointed."³ The Confederate Lords stood out for it, we may suppose, for the same reason as made them call in, as the chief officiant in the service, a Bishop whose consecration could not be impugned, because, whatever might be their own opinion of the ceremonies, they were determined to omit nothing whose absence might legally invalidate the deed. Adam Bothwell, Bishop of Orkney (consecrated under the old Ordinal) one of the Scottish Bishops who embraced the Reformation, was indeed something of a time-server. He was the complaisant prelate who had solemnized the marriage between Queen Mary and the Earl of Bothwell, an act for which—*after* the Coronation of her son—he had to satisfy the General Assembly, so that he could not, at this moment have been personally acceptable to Knox; and the fact that, notwithstanding this, Knox raised no objection to his employment here, and took part along with him in the service, may be accepted as evidence that his objections to Episcopacy, *per se*, were not so inveterate as is frequently supposed.⁴

The testimony of the *Register* must be held to prove that the Bishop did not only anoint the King, but also set the Crown upon his head, and Calderwood confirms this, though there are statements⁵ that the latter act was done by John, Earl of Atholl. There is no reason, however, to doubt the statement that after the Crown had been set upon the baby brow, it was held over it by the Earl of Mar while first the Lords in their order, and then the Burgesses came up and touched it in sign of their consent. Of the "Spirituality" present, the Superintendent of Lothian (Spottiswood, the father of the future Archbishop), and the Superintendent of Fife, appear from Calderwood to have in some way assisted the Bishop of Orkney. There are no details as to the prayers; and there is no hint that there was any

¹ Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, I. 536.

² History of the Reformation, II. 566.

³ Calderwood, *History of the Kirk*, 384. Knox may have borrowed this scruple from the Lollards of Kyle, who had been charged with holding that the anointing of Kings ceased at the coming of Christ. Knox, *History of the Reformation*. I.

⁴ Then are, of course, other facts in the Reformer's life that prove the same thing, *e.g.* his acceptance of office as a chaplain to Edward VI., and his son Eleazar being a clergyman, in England, of the Church of England.

⁵ Crawford's *History of King James the Sixth*.

praise. Owing to the Prince's infancy, there was not even the question of giving him Communion. For the first time, I suppose, since the introduction of Christianity, the solemnity lacked its holiest and most helpful adjunct! Even supposing that Holy Communion could have done no good to the infant King, might not those who crowned him have sought the aid which Christ communicateth through this Sacraments for the discharge of *their*—so sacred—duties towards him? And when *our* King and Queen on the 26th of June receive It to strengthen them from their high office, ought it not to be in our power, in our various parishes throughout the realm, to receive It also, to help us to be good subjects, good citizens, and good Christians?

But I am digressing. When the Coronation service in the Church of Stirling was ended, the Royal Procession returned to the Castle, Atholl bearing the Crown, Morton the Sceptre, and Glencairn the Sword, while the poor wee King himself was "carriet by the Earl of Mar to his awin chalmer in the Castell," whereof Mar, since 1566, had been Captain and Custodier. The Earl was a humane and honourable man, and proved, as keeper of the young King, a faithful guardian of his tender charge; while his Countess, Annabella Murray—though Knox, in a moment of wrath, calls her "a very Jezebel," and James Melville tells us that she was "sharp" as well as wise, and "held the King in great awe" of her, appears as, on the whole, the kindest figure that stood round him in his early days. So sensible was James of the services she rendered him that he placed his eldest son, Prince Henry under her care.

III.

THE CORONATION OF ANNE, QUEEN OF JAMES VI.

The Second Scottish Coronation since the Reformation, that of Anne of Denmark, the Consort of King James VI., took place at a time when the Presbyterian system was established in our National Church, and there was not a canonical bishop in all Scotland. Some of the irregularities, however, of a time of transition still subsisted, and the eminent minister who anointed the Queen, Robert Bruce, had never been ordained—an omission that was much excepted against, though somehow it was never remedied. As a ceremony, this Coronation was a stately one; and it was by no means brief—it lasted from ten in the morning till five in the afternoon.

It was celebrated in the Abbey Church of Holyrood—the nave of which had happily escaped destruction at the hands of the English soldiers—on Sunday, 17th May, 1590. There were numerous precedents both in England and Scotland for such a ceremony being on the Lord's Day—indeed there was a rule that it must be either on a Sunday or other high festival: it was too sacred a solemnity for an ordinary day; but by 1590 new views of the Day had come into men's minds,¹

¹ The change of opinion was, however, quite a recent one. On a Sunday, so stout a Protestant as Moray, "the good Regent," had celebrated his nuptials with sports and banquets. Knox travelled on a Sunday, wrote letters on a Sunday, and had the Duke of Chatelherault and the English Ambassador to sup with him on a Sunday. See, for other instances, Joseph Robertson, *Inventaires de la Reyne d'Ecosse*, lxxix.

and—in Scotland in particular, I fear—a lower and more secular apprehension of what a Coronation is. We learn accordingly, without surprise, from Calderwood that there was discussion among the Scottish clergy as to the lawfulness of its being on a Sunday, and, from Spottiswood, as to the Queen's receiving that "Anointing" in regard to which, at her husband's Coronation, Knox and the ministers had in vain "repyned." The King and the Lutheran Danes, says Calderwood, would have had both her Coronation and her Entry into Edinburgh upon the Lord's Day. On both points the Provost and bailies of the city sided with the King, but through Chancellor Maitland's interposition the entry was deferred till the Tuesday following. The Coronation itself some of the clergy thought lawful on "the Sabbath" because it was "a mixed action (like marriage"—then common in the Kirk on Sundays, before the assembled congregation)—"and therein a solemn oath passed mentally betwixt the prince and his subjects, and from both to God, and the minister to bless."¹

As to Unction "some of the ministers, more curious than wise," says Spottiswood, stirred up by "one Mr. John Davidson, an idle and turbulent man," took exception to it on the grounds that it was Jewish, and abolished at the coming of Christ, and introduced into Christian Kingdoms by the Pope, and not to be used?" No one seems to have urged in answer the patriotic plea that Unction in Scotland was the witness of the Independence of the Scottish Crown; but the argument that it was a Jewish rite was met by the fact that the Gentile nations had it too; its introduction by the Pope, with the sensible rejoinder that "every rite used among the Papists was not to be rejected, for in that case we should be forced to remove many things that are of good institution and use:" moreover that since "the function and authority of Princes continueth the same and is alike in all free monarchies, their anointing could no more be excepted against than their crowning and the bearing of the sword and sceptre before them, which all have the like warrant."² James, hearing of their scruples, said that he would not have the rite of Unction omitted; and threatened that, if Mr. Robert Bruce would not do it, he would prorogue the day of the Coronation, and stay till one of the Bishops came.³ This was enough for Andrew Melville, who had joined at first with the scrupulous party, but now went over to the other side. In one point, indeed, the ministers did succeed; they managed to rob the Anointing of its religious meaning! Instead of treating it as a sign of the need which Princes have for the Holy Ghost to fit them for their very special duties in the Body of Christ, they reduced it, says Calderwood, to a civil ceremony, which a subject might use at a King's command, not as a minister, but as a civil person, "providing declaration were made by the minister in time of the action to that sense, that all opinion of

¹ Calderwood, v. 95.

² Spottiswood.

³ The titular Archbishops, Adamson of S. Andrews and Montgomery of Glasgow, were in disgrace, and both Church and King were frowning on their "tulchan" colleagues.

superstition be removed." We shall see presently what this condition turned out to mean. "The Forme and Maner of the Queen's Majestie's Coronation at the Kirk of Holyrudhous. xvii. Die Maii, A.D. MDXC." has been preserved, and was published with other documents of the same period for the Bannatyne Club in 1828. I shall take from it a summary of the proceedings, and add a few notes upon them.

When the Sunday came, the King in the morning created sixteen knights, and elevated Maitland to the peerage as Baron of Thirlestane. In the Abbey Church 'high places' had been erected, one for the King and the other for the Queen. When the King was ready to enter it, his procession started. There were trumpeters; then the King's guard 'to remove the multitude;' more trumpeters, the Royal Household, knights, barons, the magistrates of Edinburgh and certain other principal towns of Scotland; certain Counsellors and Senators; next the heralds "with their yellow coats wherein there was red lyons" preceding the Lyon King. The great officers of state came next, Andrew, Lord Dingall (*sic*) representiug the Earl Marischal, Alexander Lindsay, Vice-Chamberlain; then, in order, the Earl of Angus bearing the Sword, the Lord Hamilton (for the Earl of Arran, who was sick) bearing the Sceptre, and the Duke of Lennox, Great Chamberlain of Scotland, bearing the (King's) Crown. Immediately after them came King James himself, "having his purple (*i.e.*, his Royal) Robe upon him, and was convoyed to the Kirk, to the place appointed to him to sit into."

The Queen's procession was in like manner preceded by trumpeters. It consisted first of certain Danish noblemen from the Queen's own country—"magnificklie apparelit, having cheinyis sett with dyamontis about their nakes," and certain of the Scottish nobles. The Lyon and his heralds then appeared a second time, ushering John, Lord Thirlestane, Chancellor "beirand bituix his twa hands the Quenis crowne." Followed "the Queen's Majesty herself clad with her accustomed apparel," and supported by the English Ambassador, three Ambassadors from Denmark, and a great train of ladies, among them Annabella, Countess of Mar "quha had brought up the King's Majestie from his minoritie and birthe."

All being duly seated, Mr. Patrick Galloway¹ the King's minister, went into the pulpit, where, "after prayers made" he preached a sermon on a text from the xlv. Psalm. The verse is not stated, but in that Psalm he could hardly have chosen amiss. This preaching ended, the Duke of Lennox, the Lord Hamilton, with two ministers, Mr. Bruce, and Mr. David Lindsay, approached the King, to request that according to his public direction to be given to them, they might perform the actions previously intimated to them. To make assurance doubly sure that he was acting not on his own responsibility but at the King's command, Bruce now declared (aloud) what His Majesty had bidden. It puts one in mind of the minister mentioned by Dr. Spratt, who consented at a fashionable wedding to use the ceremony of the ring, but prefaced it with the announcement:—"The ring may now be given, but it must

¹ Calderwood enumerates Mr. Robert Bruce, Mr. Robert Pont, Mr. David Lindsay, Mr. Walter Balcalquhall, and the King's own ministers as the clergymen appointed to be present at the Coronation. *Hist. of the Kirk*, v. 95.

be distinctly understood that this forms no part of the religious service."¹ The Unction ceremony began by the Countess of Mar "coming to the Queen and opening the neck of her gown," and baring a portion of each arm; then, "Mester Robert Bruce immediately puies furthe upon thois partis of hir breist and arme, of quhilk the clothes wer remowit a bonye quantitie of oyll; quhilks parts, efter annoyntment thereof, wer coverit with sum quhyt silke."² There were evidently no prayers at this Anointing. Though performed by a clergyman, it was done as a civil act—with no meaning at all, no lesson of grace, no reminder either of the Queen's need for the Holy Ghost or of His promised aid for her royal duties! This barren "Unction" over, the Queen retired to a "secret place" prepared for her, and after a brief repose, was invested with "ane Princelie Rob," and so returned to her former seat in the kirk. Then silence was commanded, and the King "commands the Crown for the Queen to be brocht unto him." Having received it, he delivered it to the Duke of Lennox, the Lord Hamilton, and the Chancellor "quha efter the resait thereof, placet the same upoun the Queen's head." Apparently it was not easily set on, but "after it was firmly knitt upoun hir head," the King sent her the Sceptre, which Mr. Bruce the minister "delivered to Her Majestie, saying, "We by authority of the King's Majesty, with consent of his Estates, representing the whole body of the country, place this Crown upon your Majesty's head: and we deliver this Sceptre unto your Highness, acknowledging you to be our Sovereign Queen and Lady, to whom we promise all poynts of office and obedience dutiful in those things that concern the glory of God, the comfort of the Kirk, and preservation of His Majesty, your Highness' spouse; and we crave from your Majesty the confession of the faith and religion which we profess."

The "sum" of this petition was then briefly explained by Mr. David Lindsay, and the Queen "agrying be twitching the Bible with her richt hand," was held, among other things to swear that she would "defend the true religion and worship of God, and withstand and despise all papisticall superstitions." Alas! for such securities. Anne of Denmark, during all the latter part of her life, if she never actually joined the Church of Rome, conformed secretly to its services; had priests to say mass before her; and consistently refused to accompany her husband to the reformed worship. When, however, the oath had been administered, Mr. Bruce engaged in prayer; and then the heralds began the Acclamation—"God save the Queen," which was heartily responded to by all the people; and "the trumpeters thereafter sounded."

The Queen was now convoyed by the Duke of Lennox and Lord Hamilton "to ane heicher place;" and when she was there set down, silence being made, Mr. Andrew Melville, "Principall of the College of the Theologes maid ane oration in twa hunder Lateine werse." The Humanist was almost as strong as the Divine in Andrew Melville; but the secular tone of these verses does surprise one; and it is

¹ *Worship and Offices of the Church of Scotland*, p. 156.

² Perhaps floss silk is meant.

distinctly amusing, if somewhat sad, to find the athlete of Presbytery, in the very kirk, on the Lord's day, complimenting James, in language such as this :—

“Decus Musarum et Apollinis ingens !”

(The huge glory of Apollo and the Muses).

Did Melville think how soon he was to take His Majesty by the sleeve and call him “God's silly vassal?”

Mr. Bruce now followed with another sermon ; there were more prayers ; and then the Duke of Lennox and Lord Hamilton, Mr. Bruce, and Mr. David Lindsay, the Provosts of Edinburgh and Dundee, and the Lairds of Parbroath and Ormiston—representing the Three Estates—“with bowing their knyes and holding up their hands joynit together” did formal homage to the Queen. The general company did the same by acclamation ; the trumpets sounded, and Mr. Patrick Galloway, “minister, ascending into the pulpit, be prayer endit the haill Act of Coronation and blissit the same ;” whereupon the King and the Queen—the Crown still “festnit” on her head—made their “recess” to their respective “chalmers.”

One would have thought there was sufficient “store of preaching” in the Order of Service as thus set down ; but if we may trust Calderwood and Wodrow there was more still—“three sermons made, one in Latin, one in French, and one in English” (none in Danish, which was the Queen's language), in addition to a “short discourse,” over and above Mr. Bruce's, by the great and venerable Reformer, Mr. John Craig. Wodrow gives particulars as to the manner of the Uncction. The Queen was anointed “first on the right hand, then on her forehead, then on her neck ;” and he adds that, as well as the Sceptre, the Sword was, by the hand of the Earl of Angus, presented to her Majesty.

From none of the accounts do we gather a word as to there having been any praise of God at all, though the Psalms and the *Veni Creator* in English metre were by this time familiar to the Church of Scotland ; the preaching far overshadowed the prayers ; and the ministers' scruples had resulted only (1) in robbing such ceremonies as were retained—*e.g.*, the Uncction, of their sacred meaning, and (2) in representing the Queen's crown as coming to her not from God, but merely at her husband's will.

“Amid her mostly frivolous existence,” says her latest biographer, “Anne of Denmark would seem to have cherished a desire, if not to have possessed a capacity, for higher things.” It can scarcely be claimed for those who ministered at her Scottish Coronation that they either gave to her any help for that better life, or very distinctly pointed out to her the Source whence she might herself derive it. It is but too apparent that their thoughts were more for the avoiding of their own fantastic scruples, than for strengthening the young Danish princess for the religious discharge of her difficult and sacred duties. As we have seen, there was enough of Preaching, which—faithfully performed—is an ordinance of God both for light and stimulus ; but the special ordinance of spiritual nourishment and strength, the Holy Communion, was wanting altogether. It is not enough, in such cases, that one

should be lectured to : the supreme necessity is that the heart should be lifted up through Jesus Christ to its God and Father, and fed with the Bread of God which, in Christ, the Father giveth us.

IV.

THE CORONATION OF CHARLES I.

The next, and third in order of our Scottish Coronations since the Reformation, that of King Charles I. (1633), was, on many grounds, the most notable of all. As a pageant, it was by far the most splendid ; as an act of religious worship, it was at once the most impressive, and, so far as man can judge, the most sincere. Its very form, moreover, was pregnant with great issues, and served to exhibit and bring out the profound differences in religious conviction—in which the rights were not all on either side—that unhappily existed between the King and the great majority, at that time, of his Scottish subjects. Above all, the personality of the King makes this Coronation interesting—Charles's magnificence, his accomplishments, his domestic virtues, his piety, his terrible misfortunes, and the sense we seem to have, even from the first, of the fate that is impending over him !

"The memory of no King is so deeply cherished and revered, even to his very countenance, as that of one who died a Martyr on the scaffold."¹ And the latest of our Scottish historians, who is pitilessly opposed to him and to his House, brings out in the clearest way the debt which our Northern Church lies under to his memory. To Charles I., and to his religious care for the Church in which he was baptised, a care which itself was no small cause of his subsequent misfortunes, the Church of Scotland owes, says Mr. Hume Brown, "the great and beneficent Act which secured an adequate and permanent provision for its Ministers."²

Charles had been crowned King of England in Westminster Abbey on the Feast of the Purification (2nd February) 1626. Though the Union of the Crowns had taken place, Scotland and England were still two separate Kingdoms ; and Charles's Scottish Coronation was deferred till his first visit to Scotland in 1633. To do all honour to his native land, he came accompanied with a great train ; and, no doubt, because, since the destruction of the Abbey of Scone at the time of the Reformation, the ancient Crowning-place possessed neither fitting church for the high solemnity, nor sufficient accommodation for the splendid court, it was decided that the rite should be performed at the Scottish capital, and in the church of the great

¹ Isaac William, *Devotional Commentary on the Gospel Narrative*. The Passion, p. 388. This view of Charles I. is by no means confined to Anglican writers ; as the following extract may shew :—

"He was perhaps, setting aside the fabulous attributes of other monarchs, the most exemplary and amiable, as he was one of the most unfortunate of sovereigns, that ever swayed the sceptre of the British Kingdoms. He sustained, at his death, with native elevation of character and amidst studied insults and indignities, all the majesty of a monarch and all the piety and heroic fortitude of a Christian martyr."

Peterkin, *Records of the Church of Scotland*, p. 541.

² *History of Scotland*, vi. 3.

Abbey—a royal foundation, Charles would remember as well as Scone—which had now become the chief palace of the Kings of Scotland, Holyrood. The choir of Holyrood had been destroyed by the English invaders 90 years before; but the nave remained, and by the King's orders, was repaired for the occasion. Internally, too, it was "magnificently" decked. At, or towards, the East end was set the Holy Table, covered with tapestry, and furnished with two clasped books, a bason (for the King's offering), and two candlesticks bearing unlighted candles; while behind it was a rich hanging with the figure of Our SAVIOUR on the Cross curiously embroidered on it. In front of the Table was a kneeling-desk, while on the South side of the sanctuary a space was screened off to make a retiring-room for the King. There was also a side-table covered with green velvet and gold lace, on which, according to a Scottish custom akin to one that prevailed in France, the Regalia and Great Seal were to be placed. On the North side were the pulpit and a chair of state for the King, while in the centre of the church, in front of the Holy Table, stood the Throne, on a carpeted platform whose four corners touched four pillars of the nave; and from this platform there was a flight of steps for the King's ascending to his throne, and descending thence to the Table of Communion.

On Monday, 17th of June, 1633, Charles went privately from Holyrood to the Castle of Edinburgh, where he "did his private devotion;" dined thereafter with the Captain of the Castle, the old Earl of Mar—the son of his father's guardian; and lay that night.

At eight next morning he was conducted by the Constable of Scotland, (the Earl of Erroll,) and the Marshall, (the Earl Marischal,) to the great Hall of the Castle—the beautiful apartment recently restored, and made a museum of Scottish armour—and there, seated under a "cloth of estate," he was formally asked by the Chancellor,¹ speaking for the Three Estates of Scotland, to receive them under his protection and govern them by the laws of the Kingdom. In consenting, Charles told them that he valued their affections more than the crowns of many Kingdoms. The procession was then formed and the King and the Estates rode down on horseback through the long High Street and Canongate to Holyrood.² On dismounting, the King was received under a canopy of crimson velvet, the poles of which were borne by six Earls' sons, while six lords of the rank of Baron walked in attendance at their side.

Since 1610 the Church of Scotland, while retaining its hierarchy of Courts Ecclesiastical—Kirk Sessions, Presbyteries, Synods, and General Assemblies—and its own Service Book ("Knox's Liturgy") with that noble old national version

¹ George Hay, Viscount Dupplin, now created Earl of Kinnoull. There is an interesting notice of him, with lines by Arthur Johnstone, in Principal Geddes's edition of that poet.

² The procession from the Castle to Holyrood has been censured as a mere equestrian display. It had a much deeper meaning. It signified the King's offering himself to the people (as distinguished from the nobles) of Scotland to be their King. In this light, it had no less a precedent than Our Saviour's Entry into Jerusalem whereby He offered Himself as the true King of Zion. When Charles came to the house of God, he bowed in reverence at the portal, in token of the humility with which he entered the sacred courts to entreat the Lord and hallow him for the duties of his royal office.

of the Psalms in metre, of which our present metrical Psalter retains far too few, was under the government of canonical Bishops, and was in full communion with, though by no means under subjection to, the Church of England. There can, I fear, be little doubt, that to the innovations in worship begun at this Coronation service, whatever may be said as to their own merits,¹ must be traced many of the calamities which were not only to overwhelm both the King and the Bishops, but dissolve, down to the present day, the intercommunion² of the two National Churches.

One of these "innovations" had been the erection of a "four neukit table in manner of ane altar,"³ with the crucifix behind it, in the church: another was disclosed when the western door was opened for the entrance of the King. It was all right that he should be received by the Archbishop and the officiating clergy; but their robes, though such as have been always worn at English Coronations, had not been seen in Scotland since the Reformation. They were very splendid. The Primate, Spottiswood, the historian, Archbishop of S. Andrews, and the prelates⁴ who were to assist at the solemnity, wore purple cassocks ("blew silk to the foot," says Spalding) under white rochets and copes of cloth of gold: the Archbishop of Glasgow, and the bishops who were not actually officiating "changed not their habits, but wore their black gowns without rochets or white sleeves." The Bishop of Aberdeen, the venerable Patrick Forbes, whom the Northern University hails as its Second Founder,⁵ was absent by reason of sickness. Laud, then Bishop of London, who had come from England with the King, was also present. Scottish tradition accuses him of rating the black-gowned bishops for not wearing copes; but the story is disbelieved even by unfriendly writers, and Spalding simply mentions Laud as riding up from the Abbey, after the rite was over, with the Bishop of Moray, only a little nigher the person of the King. The gorgeous vestments of the officiating prelates were not much relished even by an Episcopalian and strongly Royalist Aberdonian like honest Spalding, who observes that as the bishops on duty passed by the Holy Table and the embroidered "crucifix" behind it, they were seen to "bend the knee and beck, which, with their habits, was notit, and bred gryt feir of inbringing of Poperie, for the whilk [in 1638] they were all deposit."

On entering the church, the pious King knelt down and worshipped, and was then led by the Bishop of Dunblane as Dean of the Chapel Royal to a chair beside the westernmost pillar, where he was suitably addressed by Mr. James Hannay—the same who four years later was to "feel" in S. Giles' Cathedral the argument of Jenny Geddes's stool. The Royal procession then moved up the nave, the Choir mean-

¹ These have been very severely handled by the late Marquess of Bute, who tries them, however, by the Roman (or mediæval) standard; which, apart from other considerations, is as unfair as would be the trial of Jacobean architecture by the Gothic of the Thirteenth century.

² It was restored again from 1662-1690.

³ In the official accounts of this Coronation, it always called a table; on the other hand, Pryune, with studied maliciousness, calls it an altar throughout.

⁴ The Bps. of Moray, who acted as Lord High Almoner, Brechin, Dunblane, Dunkeld and Maxwell, elect of Ross, the most Laudian, and, after the Primate, the most eminent of all.

⁵ As such he was commemorated at the Founders' Day Service in Kings' College Chapel, 10th April, 1902.

while singing the Anthem, *Behold, O Lord our Protector, and look upon the face of Thine anointed!*¹ Lord Bute is wrong in supposing that the use of these words was "a purely Scottish custom"² for we learn from a note by Laud himself that the anthem was "newly composed and made" for, and used at, Charles's English Coronation;³ but I think we may agree that Lord Bute is right in his remark regarding it, that "a nobler or more beautiful commencement of the Coronation service than the closing verses of the Eighty-Fourth Psalm can hardly be conceived." I commend it to our clergy for a "gathering Psalm" at their service on the 26th of June.

Proceeding up the central aisle the King ascended the "stage" or platform, and "reposed himself a little,"⁴ while the "Honours" and the Spurs were deposited on the credence table appointed for them, and the Lyon-King delivered to the Archbishop the "golden Ampule or vial with the sacred oil,"⁵ who set the same on the Communion table." Charles then descended from the stage, and sat in his chair over against the pulpit, while the Bishop of Brechin preached a sermon from 1 Kings i. 39—"And Zadok the priest took an horn of oil out of the Tabernacle, and anointed Solomon. And they blew the trumpet; and all the people said God save King Solomon." The sermon has not come down to us, but Spalding praises it,⁶ or rather praises the preacher for "a prime scholar." Sermon being ended, the King ascended the stage again, sat for a moment, and then stood up and turned himself toward the people, as the Archbishop, with the Constable, the Marshall, and the Lyon-King, went to the four corners of the platform and presented him to the congregation as their King, "the rightful heir of the Crown and dignity of this Realm," and asked if they were not willing to have him for their King, and become subject to him and his commandments? This is the English ceremony of "Recognition:" it was less needed in Scotland, after the invitation given to Charles by the Three Estates in the Castle-hall: but, as it happened, the double security was all too weak for the strain that, all too soon, was to be put upon it. The acts by which Charles alienated the support of the Scottish nobles—the edict of Revocation and the Decret Arbitral, whereby he gave back to the Church at least

¹ Psalm lxxxiv. 9. The composer has altered the words somewhat.

² *Coronations*, p. 94. The whole description of this service by Lord Bute exhibits an extraordinary ill-will both to Laud and Charles (and to Anglicanism generally), which on more than one occasion does not hesitate to misrepresent the authorities.

³ *Coronation Order of Charles I.* p. 13, note. At Westminster, however, Ps. cxxii. was also sung.

⁴ But not necessarily as Lord Bute alleges on *the Throne* there set for him: this is not said, and at his English Coronation there was a chair other than the Throne, on which at this point he sat. This may have been in Scotland also. The rubrics in the English Coronation Order compared with Fuller's account (*Church History*) shew that the *Chair of Estate* here mentioned was different from the Throne properly so called, which at Holyrood, as at Westminster, stood on a stage above the stage.

⁵ The Ampule, or vessel for the sacred oil used at the Coronation of Charles I. still exists, in the possession or custody, of Sir George Grant Sultie, Bart. Sir James Balfour speaking of the oil calls it "the sacred oil"; no doubt because, as at Westminster, it had been consecrated before the Coronation service began.

⁶ Row says it was excellent but wanted *point*.

a portion of her ancient patrimony—had been done already; and one fears there may already have been some lip-service in the Acclamations which now greeted him.

A second Anthem was now sung :—" *Let thine hands be strengthened, and thy right hand exalted: let judgment be the preparation of thy seat, and mercy and truth go before thy face, Hallelujah.* This was, in the strict sense of the word, an *anthem*, i.e., an antiphon, or verse sung at the beginning and end of a Psalm to emphasise the intention with which that Psalm is used: the Psalm, on this occasion, was the Eighty-ninth,¹ either entire, or (more probably), as at Westminster, the first six verses only, concluding with *Gloria Patri*.

The next ceremony—a beautiful following of the Wise Men's gift of gold to the Infant Saviour—was the King's oblation. To make this, he descended from the stage, and, supported by the Bishops of Dunblane and Moray, gave his offering at the Holy Table by the ministry of the Archbishop, who received it in a "cup of gold": then he knelt down at the desk before the Table, while the Primate offered the Prayer following :—"O God, Who dost visit those that are humble, and dost comfort them by Thine Holy Spirit, send down Thy grace upon this Thy servant, Charles, that by him we may feel Thy presence amongst us: through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."

The Coronation Oath came next. It was ministered by the Archbishop in four divisions; in the first, which required the King to serve Almighty God, and maintain the true Religion now preached and professed within the Realm, was inserted, as the law required, the unhappy addition which the Reformers had taken over from the Pope, binding the Sovereign to root out all heretics . . . convicted by the true Church of God; in the second were enshrined the old "commandments" of Iona, or Northumbria, to cause equal justice to be ministered, and to "procure peace to the Church of God and to all Christian people;" the third was for the maintenance of the rights of the Crown of Scotland; while the fourth "besought" the King "to grant and preserve unto us of the Clergy, and to the Churches committed to our charge all canonical privileges . . . and to defend and protect us, as every good King ought in his Kingdom to defend his Bishops, and the Churches under their government." "With a willing heart," said Charles, "I grant the same," and then rising and going to the Holy Table, "in sight of all the people laying his hands on the Bible, he took the Oath, saying. All the things which before I have promised, I shall observe and keep, so help me God, and by the contents of this book."

The Hymn, *Veni Creator*, (a feature almost constant, I suppose, in Coronation Services, since it first was written, and one which should never be omitted) was then sung, possibly in the quaint version² of John Knox's Liturgy, which hails the Spirit as

"The Fire so bright, the Love so clear
And Uncion Spiritual."

¹ Psalm lxxxix. 13-14. The whole of this long Psalm was sung at the Coronation of the King of France on the Day when he was anointed—a use for which Lord Bute well remarks that "its tone of humility mingled with thankfulness" made it eminently suitable.

² See *The Book of Common Order*, (Sprott's Edition, p. 165). This version is almost identical with the alternative rendering in the English *Book of Common Prayer*—Ordering of Priests.

It was followed by the Prayer, translated from one in the old Northumbrian Pontifical and derived, according to Lord Bute, from a Columban source, beseeching God that as He had preserved the King in the 'flower of his youth' and brought him to the time then present, so He would 'enrich him with the gift of piety,' make him 'happily enjoy the seat of government,' and defend him 'by the wall of His mercy.' Next the English Litany was sung by the Bishop of Moray, and Maxwell, Bishop-elect of Ross, with special suffrage and a consecratory collect; and then the Archbishop began and said aloud, "Lift up your hearts, and give thanks unto the Lord." The Bishops answered, and Spottiswood said the Consecratory Preface for the oil. Then the King rose, and standing before the Table, was disrobed by the Lord Great Chamberlain, the Duke of Lennox, of his upper robe; and no doubt "appeared," as Fuller says he did at Westminster, "a proper person to all that beheld him." Being thus ready for the Unction, he was conducted to his chair beside the pulpit, sitting in which, under a canopy of state, he was, as his ancestors had been, anointed by the Archbishop of S. Andrews on the palms of his hands and on the crown of his head, in the Name of the Father and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. The Anthem, "*Zadok the Priest*" was sung; and after another Prayer, the Archbishop proceeded to anoint the King on the breast, betwixt his shoulders, on his shoulder-blades, and on his elbows, and pronounced this Blessing:—"God the Son of God, Jesus Christ our Lord, Who was anointed of His Father with the oil of gladness above His fellows; Pour down upon Thy head the blessing of the Holy Ghost, and make it enter into the inmost parts of thy heart, so that thou mayest reign with Him in the heavens eternally." That the King should sit, under a canopy of state, for the Unction was in accordance with the later English rite, but it must be confessed the Mediæval fashion, that the King should prostrate himself, or kneel, behind a veil, was at once more appropriate to the true nature of the ceremony, as a Prayer for the Holy Ghost to fit him for his duties, and less calculated to augment those extravagant notions of his Prerogative which Charles unfortunately cherished. It is needful for the due—indeed for the safe—employment of any symbolic rite, not only that it symbolise a truth, but that it be done in such a manner as shall teach *that* truth, and not something widely different.¹

By the Unction the *Sacring* was completed: the King had been hallowed for his office. The next thing therefore was to deliver to him, in due order, and with due impressiveness, the various Insignia of that office. He was now accordingly led to the Holy Table, and invested by the Lord Great Chamberlain with the purple Robes Royal of King James IV.; the Archbishop, laying the Sword on the Table and consecrating it, gave it into his hand with the admonition to use it for the Defence of the Faith and the Maintenance of Justice; and the High Constable girt it on the King's

¹ It is not without significance that Shakespeare puts these words into the mouth of the hapless Richard II. :—

"Not all the water in the rude, rough sea
Can wash the balm from an anointed King."

As that King uses them, they are delusive.

side. The delivery of the Spurs spoke rather of Knighthood than of Royalty: they were put on him by the Earl Marischal. The Sandals, on the other hand, which were Ecclesiastical—the only sacerdotal vestments used in the Scottish rite—were put on the King's feet as he sat in his chair by the Dean of the Chapel Royal.

The Crowning proper followed. The Primate took the Crown in his hand and blessed it; and then placed it on Charles' head, saying as he did so, "God crown thee with a Crown of glory and righteousness, with the honour of virtue and fortitude that by a right faith and manifold fruits of good works you may obtain the Crown of an everlasting Kingdom, by the gift of Him Whose Kingdom endureth for ever." At his English Coronation the Bishop of Carlisle had preached on the Crown of Life (Rev. ii., 10). Laud thought *that* more fitting for a funeral; and here we find the Scottish Primate anticipating almost the thought which was to support Charles on the scaffold! "From a corruptible Crown to an incorruptible."

The crowning was succeeded by the Homage of the Nobles. The Earls and Barons put on their coronets and caps; and an Anthem was sung the while, beginning, *Be strong and of a good courage*, with verses from Psalms xxiii. and xxi.

Next the King was relieved of the Sword—which having been laid again on the Table was "redeemed" by the High Constable, and borne naked before the King. This permitted the delivery of the Sceptre, which the Archbishop delivered into his hands with the words, "Receive this Sceptre, the sign of Royal power, the Rod of the Kingdom, the Rod of Virtue; that thou mayest govern thyself aright; and defend the Holy Church and all Christian people committed by God to thy charge, punishing the wicked and protecting the just."

Then the Archbishop blessed the King, and the King kissed the Archbishop and the assisting prelates.

The time was now come for him to ascend the higher stage, and be solemnly Enthroned in the Royal Throne. This rite also (after the choir had sung *Te Deum*) was performed by the Archbishop, as the servant of God Who set the King thereon. The Chancellor and the Lyon King at the four corners of the stage proclaimed the King's pardon under the great seal to all who would avail themselves of it; and while the people renewed their acclamations, the Bishops swore allegiance, and "acknowledged the service of the lands which they claimed to hold of the King in the right of the Church." Charles was characteristically careful of the Church's property.

The Lords Temporal came next, and they too kissed the King on his left cheek.

"Then did the King arise from his Throne, Rothes bearing his Sceptre before him, and descended from the stage to his Chair of State over against the pulpit.

"And then the Archbishop going to the Table did begin the Communion, the King receiving It with great reverence; which being ended, and the Blessing given, the King with the Crown upon his head, in his Robes, with the Sceptre in his hand, returned with his whole train in solemn manner (as he entered) to his palace; the Trumpets' sounding was answered by the Castle of Edinburgh with the thundering of great ordinance."

During the "Recess," coins of gold and silver struck for the occasion, shewing the head of Charles, crowned, and bearing the inscription Carolus Dei gratia Scotiae (first) Angliae, Francia et Hiberniae Rex, were scattered among the people by the Bishop of Moray as the King's Almoner. A more striking sign of Charles's munificence towards the Scottish Church was his foundation, in September of the same year, of the Bishopric of Edinburgh and the erection of the Church of S. Giles into a Cathedral. The first Bishop was the famous Aberdeen divine, Dr. William Forbes.

V.

THE CORONATION OF CHARLES II.

The first Scottish "Coronation" was by a presbyter, S. Columba: the last was at a time when Presbytery had triumphed; and when in Scotland presbyters were exercising an authority which might have moved the admiration, or the envy, of Hildebrand himself. "Great lords, soldiers, and statesmen," says Dr. Cunningham, were doing penance before their parish ministers, the almighty dispensers of pardon, mercy, and military commands."¹ The Earl of Lauderdale did this in the Kirk of Largo before the minister, Mr. James Mackgill,² 22nd December, 1650; and Middleton at Dundee, 12th January, 1651. The Coronation of King Charles II. stood midway between these two remarkable acknowledgments. It took place at Scone, on Wednesday, 1st January, 1651.

But if the last Coronation, like the first, occurred when our Church was ruled by presbyters, there was a notable difference in the religious treatment of the rite. At the inauguration of King Aidan at Iona—whatever civil ceremonies may have been performed elsewhere—S. Columba is the sole recorded officiant: he uttered the "prophecy" which answered to, if it surpassed in dignity, the later "sermon": he performed on the King an act so solemn and so sacred as to deserve the name of "ordination." The Coronation of Charles II., on the other hand, though done in a church, and hallowed by the Word, and Prayer, and Benediction, was made to wear so little of a sacred character that it has been curtly set down by an English scholar as simply "a civil ceremony."³ This is, of course, going too far: it is perhaps best met by the contention of a no less learned Roman Catholic,⁴ that, considered as a service, it was more correct in many points than the Coronation of Charles I. at Holyrood!

As a pageant, considering all the circumstances, it was very fine. "It passed," says Clarendon, "with great solemnity and magnificence, all men making show of joy." As a political step, in the then condition of Scotland, it was heroic in its bold-

¹ *Church History of Scotland*, chapter xviii.

² Lamont's *Diary*.

³ *Order of the Coronation of Charles I.*, p. 141.

⁴ Marquess of Bute, *Scottish Coronations*.

ness. But it suffered, from a religious point of view, three grievous mutilations. There was no Unction. There was no Communion. And it was by the hands of laymen, acting in a purely civil capacity, that the King was invested with his Crown and the other insignia of Royalty. The clergy would have cried out against a layman, however illustrious, instituting (or "inducting") a Minister to the humblest cure; but the Enthronization of the King was by the same secular person who set the Crown upon his head, Archibald, Marquess of Argyll.

A number of causes contributed to this result. There were precedents, in the ancient Scottish Use, alike for the insignia being delivered by lay hands, and for the not using of the rite of Unction; but it was not the precedents that were deferred to in the present instance. The usurpation by the lay Peers of the functions discharged since Bruce's day (if not before it) by the Scottish Bishops, betrayed that pride of birth, that social exclusiveness, that jealousy of wealth or dignity in the hands of Churchmen, which had all along been the roots of the Scottish nobles' objection to Episcopacy. Scotland has little reason to be proud of its nobles in their attitude (at any rate) toward the Church. The omission of the Unction was due, on the other hand, to the prejudice of the Presbyterian divines with whom, by this time, the notion that "anointing savoured somewhat of superstition"¹ had become a fixed tradition. One must blame the ministers even more than the nobles. It was the ministers' business to look out for means whereby they might, on the one hand, impress on the young King and all the congregation gathered in the church, a sense of their dependence on the King of Kings, and their duty to honour Him in their estate; and whereby, on the other hand, they might encourage Charles to entreat, and use, the help of God's Holy Spirit for the fulfilment of the sacred duties to which his Kingship called him. This latter aspect of the rite, so prominent in the older Coronation Orders, and indeed in the English Order too, seems never to have occurred to the Covenanting clergy. They believed no doubt, and believed justly, that Prayer, and the Preaching of the Word, and the pastor's Benediction, were means of grace; but the sermon on this occasion, with all its merits, was at least as much a preaching *at* the King as a preaching *to* him: the prayers, if they were like too many Scottish prayers of later date, would be much of the same character;² while, if there *was* something to be said against raising a rite like Unction to the level of a Sacrament ordained of Christ for the conveying of His grace, yet a consideration for the King's spiritual well-being might have recognised the supreme fitness to meet those needs of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. His father, as we have seen, had received It at his Coronation "with great reverence." But the preacher, on this

¹ "The Commission of the Kirk thought so," Lamont, *Diary*. But though Douglas, apologising in his sermon for its disuse, lets it "go to the door with the Bishops, and never come in again," he is not himself very strong against it; and Wodrow (*Life of Bruce*) thinks "there were more superstitious things than it." I should think so—Persecution for Religion, for example!

² If we may trust Clarendon this was the case: "All the prayers and sermons at which (Charles) was compelled to be present, were libels, and bitter invectives against all the actions of his father, the idolatry of his mother, and his own malignancy." *History of the Rebellion*, Bk. xiii.

occasion, while apologising for the laying aside of Unction,¹ never so much as mentions the Communion! On paper, his doctrine of the Eucharist was high: in practice, clearly, he never dreamt of using it except at "Communion seasons."

The clergy were to blame, too, I think, in suffering a layman² to crown and enthrone the King. It was not the way to impress on Charles the truth that his Crown came to him from God and must be worn for God's glory. The Marquess of Argyll had no title, except that of political power, to perform the rite. He did not possess the "mystic claims of the Clan Macduff!" In Argyll, moreover, the King beheld less a loyal subject than an exacting master, who had made the hardest terms with his necessity, or his impatience, and from whose polite but severe restraint³ he had but a few months previously, in October, endeavoured to escape by flight.⁴ Charles would have been less than human had he forgotten that the hand which crowned him now, bore the soil of that *filthy lucre* for which his Royal father had been "sold" to his English Parliament, or that it reeked from the more recent executions of Huntly and Montrose. He has been blamed for not remembering at the Restoration (1660) the part Argyll had taken in his Scottish Coronation; but his fault was rather that he remembered too well at once his own shame in accepting the Scottish crown on the terms, and in the way, in which it was then bestowed, and the part then played by one who, both before that day and after it, had been the chief enemy of Monarchy in Scotland, and had lived in formal treaty with the Usurper. Nor was it till the closing scene of his chequered life that Argyll exhibited those qualities which go to justify the regard in which he has been held by later generations of his countrymen. "I might die like a Roman, but I prefer to die like a Christian:"

¹ The terms of Mr. Douglas's apology for not anointing the King are curious and interesting. . . . "The anointing with material oil maketh not a King the Anointed of the Lord, for he is so without it; he is the Anointed of the Lord who by Divine ordinance and appointment is a King.—Isaiah lxxv., 1. God calleth Cyrus His anointed; yet we read not that he was anointed with oil. Kings are anointed of the Lord because their authority is sacred and inviolable. It is enough if we have the thing, though we want the ceremony." True, it was Charles's hereditary right, and, his call by the people that made him King; but the very object of the *Coronation Service* was to hallow him for that office, and minister God's grace to him for the right performing of its duties; and it was just the rites most suitable for this purpose that in *this* Coronation were—out of mere prejudice—omitted! There was never a case where there was greater need of winning the King to a serious view of what kingship meant, there was never a service where less was done that was really calculated to effect this end.

² And this not as an elder or other lay-member of the Church, but simply as a political person.

³ According to Clarendon, Argyll had not believed that Charles would venture into Scotland, and though compelled by the nation's loyalty to invite him, he took every measure he could think of to prevent his coming. When Charles came, the King was never consulted on any matter of importance, and was constantly watched. "There was never a better courtier than Argyll, who used all possible graciousness to the King . . . but when his Majesty made any attempt to get some of his servants about him, or to reconcile the two factions that the Kingdom might be united, he gathered up his countenance, and retired from him, without ever yielding to any one proposition that was made to him by his Majesty." Clarendon, *Hist. of the Rebellion*, xiii. Argyll's power, it is true, waned after the Battle of Dunbar, and the King then began to get a little of his own way.

⁴ The episode is known as "the Start"—as of a hunted hare.

this death-scene drew from Scott the acknowledgment that the character of a man who could die like that must not be too severely judged.

The Scottish Coronation of Charles II. took place at Scone. The same reason which in the old days had prescribed for the crowning-place of the Scottish Kings a spot benorth the Forth, made a return to it on this occasion as imperative as it was becoming. The Scotland of our earliest Kings had not included Lothian. In 1651 Lothian was once more in the hands of our "auld enemies of England." Cromwell had invaded the kingdom, and his victory at Dunbar (Sept. 3rd, 1650) had given him possession, on Christmas Eve, of Holyrood and Edinburgh.

The ancient Abbey Church of Scone, the scene of so many coronations, had perished with the adjoining Palace, in May, 1559, under the eyes, though, as he tells us, in spite of the efforts, and considerably to the offence, of Knox, whose sermon, the day before at Perth, joined (as he admits) to the hope of spoil, had inflamed the multitude beyond his power to keep them in. Abbey and Palace were committed alike to "the merciment of fire."¹ The blackened ruins seem to have been allowed to bleach for some sixty years, till in 1624² the first Lord Stormont removed them, and built a new church on the top of the Mote Hill.

The church was a small one; but it was fitted and prepared for the Coronation much as Holyrood had been, with the notable exception that there was no "four neukit Table," or embroidered crucifix, to awaken suspicion of an "altar." There was, as at Holyrood, "a table³ whereupon the 'Honours' were laid, a chair set in a fitting place for his Majesty's hearing of the sermon over against the minister, and another chair on the other side where he sat when he received the Crown, before which there was a bench, decently covered, as also seats about for Noblemen, Barons, and Burgesses; there being also a stage in a fixed place, erected of twenty-four foot square, about four foot high from the ground, covered with carpets, with two stairs, one from the west, another to the east, upon which great stage, there was another little stage, some two foot high, ascending by two steps, on which the Throne, or Chair of State was set." These furnishings—and especially the stage, which was as big as that at Holyrood—must have well nigh filled the little church, and we are not surprised to learn that—there being no room for any but the Court and the Estates, there was a stage *outside*, and a door prepared for the purpose, by which the King, after the crowning and enthronization, went out, and shewed himself to the people.

¹ John Knox, *History of the Reformation in Scotland*, Book II. See also Skelton, *Maitland of Lathington*, I. 234 sqq.

² *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 1889-90, p. 37. Some of the carved and moulded stones of the Abbey Church may still be seen behind a wall near the stables of the modern Palace; the Church of 1624 has given place to a Mausoleum; but when the parish church was removed to its present site a fine carved pew was removed along with it. Tradition says that this pew was part of the furniture of the church in 1651.

³ This quotation, and others following are taken from a Covenanting reprint of Mr. Douglas's Sermon at the taking of the Covenants at Scone by King Charles II. Glasgow, 1751.

The proceedings—with the exception, of course, of the purely spiritual portions—were under the direction of the same Lyon King, Sir James Balfour, as had acted in that capacity at the Coronation of Charles I.: and the order, with the exception of the religious rites—was very much the same as on that occasion. Instead of a banquet, however, on the night before, there had been, very properly,¹ two days of Fasting (Sunday, December 22nd, and Thursday, December 26th),² though there were surely other people's sins that might on these days have been publicly acknowledged besides those which seem to have been made the most of—"sundry offences of King James VI., of King Charles I., and of King Charles II., now King."³ There is no word, however, of the last-mentioned prince performing those "private devotions" which his father had been so careful to observe.

The ceremonies⁴ began, as they had done in 1633, by "the King's Majesty in a Prince's robe" being conducted from his bed-chamber in the restored Palace, "by the Constable on his right hand and the Marshall on his left, "to the Chamber of Presence," and there, seated under a cloth of state, receiving by the mouth of the Lord Chancellor, the Earl of Loudon, the offer of the Crown, as "the righteous and lawful heir thereof." This offer contained an interpolation of doubtful legality and undoubted novelty, "that You would maintain Religion as it is presently professed and established, conform to the National Covenant, League and Covenant, and according to your Declaration at Dunfermline in August last." In his reply in the Presence Chamber, the King made no further reference to this clause than by adding to the form wherein his father had rejoined to it the word Religion—"wishing no longer to live than I may see *Religion* and this Kingdom flourish in all happiness."

From the Palace to the church (but a few yards distant) the whole company now proceeded on foot, "in order and rank according to their quality, two and two, the Spurs being carried by the Earl of Eglinton, next the Sword by the Earl of Rothes, then the Sceptre by the Earl of Crawford and Lindsay, and the Crown by the Marquess of Argyll, immediately before the King: then came the King, supported as before by the Constable and the Marshall, and his train carried by the eldest sons of the Earls of Mar (Lord Erskine), Eglinton (Lord Montgomerie), Lothian (Lord Newbattle), and Cassilis (Lord Mauchline); while over him was a canopy supported by six Earls' eldest sons, the Lords Drummond, Carnegie, Ramsay, Johnstone, Brechin, and Yester, the heirs to the peerages respectively of Perth, Southesk, Dalhousie, Hartfell, and Tweeddale.

The "most part," it is said, of the Scottish peers, as the peerage then stood,

¹ The Marquess of Bute remarks "that on this point, as in some others, the Covenanters, from whatever cause, followed the Roman precedent as opposed to the English."—*Scottish Coronations*, p. 147.

² Christmas Day, whether purposely or not, was left free.

³ Lamont's *Diary*. Baillie tells that there was considerable dissension as to the particular points to be "set down" as occasions for the Fast.

⁴ See Appendix.

were present;¹ but the blanks were notable—Huntly, Atholl, Airlie, Seaforth, Sinclair. With the exception of Lord Airlie these noblemen had offered their services—had promised indeed to maintain the solemn League and Covenant²—but they were not permitted, even in that hour of utmost danger, to support their lawful sovereign. In the West the extremer Covenanters (with such ministers as Patrick Gillespie, Samuel Rutherford, and James Guthrie) had issued their Remonstrance; were in arms in support of it; and were ready to join Cromwell and the “sectaries” rather than make common cause with any who had ever been “Malignants.”

Still, there was a fair muster of the Peers. They came (except Cassilis, Buccleuch and Haddington) in their Coronation Robes, which, for Viscounts and the higher ranks were of crimson velvet, and for Barons of scarlet cloth. Among the thirty-six County Members present, we notice Sir William Scott of Harden, the great-great grandfather of Sir Walter, and the father of that “Beardie” who was to wear his beard unblemished in token of regret for the exiled Stuarts; also Johnston of Warriston, Lord Clerk Register, who “read the murderous doom” upon Montrose, and was yet to pay for it with his life. There is no mention of any ladies.

A number of Ministers (including, I take it, David Dickson, Andrew Ramsay, Robert Baillie and James Wood)³ who had been appointed thereto by the Commission of Assembly, were present in their clerical capacity, and are described as “standing before the Pulpit” when Douglas ministered the Covenant to the King; but all the speaking⁴ (and it was not little) was done by the Moderator of the Commission of the General Assembly, Mr. Robert Douglas. This eminent and honest man (perhaps the honestest man present)—a man (says Lord Bute) of firm but not extreme principles—had been, it is said, chaplain to the Scottish auxiliaries in the service of Gustavus Adolphus,⁵ and in the personal esteem of that “Lion of the North and Champion of the Protestant Faith” he had gained a high place. Returning to Scotland he had taken a prominent part in the interests of Presbytery, had been a member of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, and since the death of Alexander Henderson had been recognized as the ablest, if one of the most sensible of the Covenanting clergy.⁶ He was apparently already in the pulpit

¹ The Duke of Hamilton was admitted to the King a few days after the Coronation.

² *Records of the Kirk of Scotland*, p. 603.

³ All these supported Douglas when his conduct as Commissioner was called in question by the fatal General Assembly at S. Andrews, July, 1651.

⁴ I confess I think this is better than a fashion too much in vogue at the present day, where services are divided among a great many ministers, not so much—it is to be feared, sometimes—that each portion may be better rendered for God’s greater glory, as for the greater glory of the ministers “taking part,” and the avoiding of jealousies among them.

⁵ It is not very easy to reconcile the dates. At the time when Douglas is usually said to have been with Gustavus Adolphus, the records of his presbytery shew he was in Scotland. See the Rev. Mr. Stevenson’s interesting book, *Records of the Presbytery of Kirkcaldy*.

⁶ At the Restoration Douglas was offered, but refused, a bishopric. He lost favour, however, with the extremer Covenanters—those who unfortunately have been specially glorified in Covenanting legend—by accepting the “black Indulgence.”

when the King entered the church. Charles "set himself," quietly, "in his chair for hearing of sermon, and Mr. Douglas "after incalling of God by Prayer, gave out his text—from 2 Kings xi. 12 and 17: "*And he brought forth the King's son, and put the Crown upon him, and gave him the Testimony, and they made him King, and anointed him; and they clapped their hands, and said, God save the King. And Jehoiada made a Covenant between the Lord and the King and the People, that they should be the Lord's people; between the King also and the People.*" Except that it bore that Joash was anointed, and crowned by the High Priest—while Charles was, on purpose, neither to be anointed at all, nor crowned by a minister—the text was apt, alike to the circumstances of Scotland at the time and to the day's solemnity; and the Sermon built upon it deserves Lord Bute's encomium—"a singularly able and powerful exposition of Covenanting principles upon Church and State—Hereditary Constitutional Monarchy, complete Religious Intolerance, and the entire Independence of the Church." There was no political point on which the Scottish people were more united than in their desire for Monarchy. At the renewal of the National Covenant in 1637, its supporters had protested "we mind nothing that may tend to the diminution of the King's greatness and authority,"¹ and however subsequent events had belied that protest, the murder of Charles I. had aroused in Scotland the utmost horror and the most enthusiastic loyalty. Douglas accordingly does not mince words about "the wicked men who had risen up and usurped the Kingdom, and put to death the late King most unnaturally." They have "made away with him, and have disinherited his children, that the sole power might be in their own hand." They "have a number of damnable errors and false worship to set up"—and intend to "take away the ordinances of Christ and the government of His Kirk." Having thus delineated Cromwell and his Independents, the preacher glanced next at the Presbyterian Remonstrants in the West of Scotland. "They acknowledge a King, but despise him in their heart." He wishes them "David's tenderness, whose heart did smite him when he cut off the lap of Saul's garment;"² and that "we may be far from cutting off a lap of the just power and greatness which God hath allowed the King, and we have bound ourselves by Covenant not to diminish."

It is in this word "Covenant" that we have the master-key to the whole discourse. The Covenant—and the Solemn League and Covenant—overshadowed everything else in the preacher's mind. The "extirpation" article in the latter he much insisted on: therefore, the preacher urged, "Popery is not to be suffered in the Royal Family, nor within his dominions. Prelacy once plucked up by the root is not to be permitted to take root again; all Heresy and Error whatsoever must be opposed by the King to the utmost of his power, and by the Covenant, he must be far from Toleration of any false Religion within his dominions." Douglas knew quite well that the King's mother, Henrietta Maria, had been all her life a Roman Catholic:

¹ See Andrew Cant's *Sermon On the Renovation of the National Covenant at Glasgow, 1638.*

² 1 Sam. xxi. 5.

on that account he reminds his hearer how King Asa, "when he entered the Covenant, spared not his mother's idolatry;" nor did the remembrance of Whitehall and of the body of Charles's father, "yet but green in earth" in the dusty vault at Windsor, hinder a remark as to the "much mischief to religion" which the Royal Martyr had "done," he said, "all the days of his life!"

For Charles II. to have to hear all this was not humiliation enough. After prayer "for a blessing on the doctrine delivered," both the National Covenant and the Solemn League and Covenant were distinctly read to him; and prayer having been again offered "for grace to perform their contents," Douglas—the other Ministers standing by—ministered the Oath unto the King, who, kneeling and lifting up his right hand to heaven, not only "allowed" and "approved" both documents but obliged himself in his station and calling, to prosecute the ends thereof, to agree to all Acts enjoining them, to observe them in his own family, and never to endeavour any change thereof!

Of these Covenants this is not the place to speak; except only to remark that while the first, or National Covenant, respected Scotland only, and had been taken (in its milder form as against Romanism) by James VI., allowed by Charles I., and "owned" by Montrose upon the scaffold, the second, or Solemn League, had been drawn up in 1643 as the seal of an alliance between the English and Scottish Parliaments already engaged in fighting with their King. It required the "extirpation" of Popery, Prelacy *etc.*, and bound its subscribers to endeavour the discovery and condign punishment of all who repugned it! Charles I., when his life no less than his liberty was at stake, refused it¹: so did Montrose, a Presbyterian to the last. And with whom could it be an alliance now—when it was, of course, as unacceptable as ever to the Church of England, and Cromwell and the Independents had violated almost all its terms? The imposing of it on Charles could only mean that Presbyterianism was to be forced on England and Ireland by the sword, and not simply maintained in Scotland; but Charles swore to it, as, I fear, to obtain his Crown, he would have sworn to anything. He not only swore: he subscribed both Covenants; for they had been written out on a fair parchment, and brought to the Church for this purpose.

¹On Charles I.'s refusal to accept the Solemn League it may be well to hear the judgment of the devoted and well informed Presbyterian Editor of the *Records of the Kirk*. "The King's resistance was a patriotic virtue, for a more undisguised and grinding system of tyranny was never invented by man, and never was practised in the worst days of Popish thralldom. Nor can the inherent vices of that League be mitigated by the plea that, practically, the extirpation of all who would not yield to its terms was only directed against their tenets, and not their persons; for this theory is fully refuted by innumerable facts. Many thousands were not merely proscribed and robbed of their property, but put to death on the field and on the scaffold, as rebels and traitors, for no other reason than because they would not submit implicitly to an insatiable system of spiritual despotism," p. 541.

It need hardly be added that the Presbyterians of Scotland have not been bound, since the Revolution, to either the National Covenant or the Solemn League, with the exception of the small remnant of Cameronians, calling themselves the Reformed Presbyterian Church.

The Coronation then proceeded. The King ascended the stage, sat upon the Chair of State; was shown to the people, as his father had been, and was hailed with acclamations. From the stage he returned to the chair in which he had heard sermon, and Mr. Douglas ministered to him the Coronation Oath according to the Act of the first year of King James VI. including the clause from the Papal Bull to "root out all hereticks convict by the true kirk."

After this he fairly deserved the privilege "to repose himself a little." On rising, he disrobed, and was invested by the Great Chamberlain with the "Princely [Royal] Robe"; and then passing to the other chair on "the north-side of the kirk" Errol, as Constable, girt him with the Sword—"for the defence of the Faith of Christ . . . according to the National Covenant and League and Covenant?" The Earl Marischal put on the Spurs; and then Argyle "having taken the Crown in his hands," Douglas prayed to this purpose: "That the Lord would purge the Crown from the sins and transgressions of them that did reign before him, that it might be a pure Crown, that God would settle the Crown upon the King's head; and since men that set it on were not able to settle it, that the Lord would put it on, and preserve it. The Marquess then put the Crown on the King's head."

Whereupon the nobles, called by the herald, came forward according to their ranks, knelt, touched the Crown on the King's head, and swore to "support him to the uttermost." The people having taken, with uplifted hands, another Oath to "live and die with the King according to the National Covenant and Solemn League," the Earls and Viscounts, put on their coronets; the Chamberlain ungirded the Sword from the King's side and gave it to the great Constable to carry naked before his Majesty. The Earl of Crawford gave him the Sceptre; and the King ascending once more the stage was "installed in the Royal Throne" by the Marquess of Argyle; and had to listen to another address, or "exhortation," from Mr. Douglas.

This done, the Lord Chancellor proclaimed His Majesty's "free pardon to all breakers of penal statutes." Next the King, duly attended, went out by a door prepared for the purpose to a stage (or balcony) and showed himself amid cheering to the people outside; and on his return, "the Lyon King of Arms rehearsed," (in accordance with that ancient Scottish custom which had been unfortunately omitted at the Coronation of Charles I.) "the Royal line of the Kings up to Fergus the First." The rehearsing of the Pedigree gave Mr. Douglas an occasion to make another thrust against the Royal Family:—"It is a rare thing to see a King and great men for (*i.e.* on the side of) Christ. In the long catalogue of Kings, which ye have heard recited this day, they will be found few who have been for Christ."

Again the Lords were called up by the Lyon, and each of them kneeling and holding his hands between the King's, became his liegemen, and swore to bear truth and fealty, "according to the Covenant and Solemn League and Covenant." And every one of them kissed him on his left cheek.

These ceremonies ended, the Minister blessed the King in a form of words specially composed for, and admirably suited to, the occasion;¹ after which Mr. Douglas

¹ See Appendix.

again mounted the pulpit and, to "remind both King and People to be more careful to keep the Covenant, proceeded to lay a few things before them." It was all upon the one subject; and after it was done "the Minister closed the whole Action with prayer, and the 20th Psalm being sung, he dismissed the people with the Blessing." This closing Psalm was, apparently, the only act of praise to God in the whole service.¹

"Jehovah hear thee in the day
When trouble He doth send."

Now know I God—his King doth save."

It cannot be denied, that its very pathos made this Psalm specially appropriate. I take it for granted it was sung in Rous's version, so long familiar to Scottish ears, but then new brought from England as part of the "Covenanted uniformity between the Kingdoms." In later days the 20th Psalm was usually sung to the strains of "Elgin," now seldom heard, but commended by Robert Burns as

"The sweetest far of Scotia's holy lays."

The service concluded, the congregation "walked afoote from the church conveying the King to his lodging that night at S. Johnstone" (Perth), and there were many bonfires lighted in "token of joy."

It is to be feared that the measures taken to bind Charles to the Covenants only made him hate them yet the more, and with them the Presbyterian system with which they were so needlessly associated. He must have felt the whole thing as indeed "a humiliating ceremony."² But a sense of shame was not one of Charles's virtues, and with characteristic "good nature" he shewed no resentment, and "went into the fields to play golf."

I fear this last of all Scottish Coronations is but too truly described by Dr. Grub, as "little else than a repetition of what had already too often taken place—illegal exactions on the one side, and insincere compliances on the other; solemn professions by which the person making them never intended to be bound, and which those who demanded them of him must have known he would break as soon as he could safely dispense with them."³

¹ Neither does the King seem to have made any offering or oblation; notwithstanding that which is written, *Ye shall not appear before the Lord empty.*

² Gardiner, *History of England under the Commonwealth*, iii. p. 153.

³ *Ecclesiastical History of Scotland*, I. 385.

APPENDIX.

The following account of the Coronation of Charles II. at Scone has been recently discovered, and was printed in the "Scotsman" newspaper of 28th April, 1902,—after the foregoing paper had been written. It is here subjoined, because it gives several particulars, as to the manner of the King's entry to the Church, the procession of the nobles, and the subsequent banquet, which were not known to me previously :—

THE CORONATION OF CHARLES II. AT SCONE.

Among the documents belonging to the late Mr. James Dewar, who was Lord Provost of Perth about fifty years ago, was found the following description of the Coronation of Charles II. at Scone :—

On the 30th December the Parliament adjourned from Perth to Scone, the place where the Kings of Scotland were anciently crowned. On the 31st the Regalia were brought from the Castle of Stirling, where they had been secured on Cromwell's approach. On the 1st of January, 1651, about nine hours in the morning, the King's Majesty in a Prince's robe was conducted from his bed chamber by Gilbert Hay, Earl of Errol, Lord High Constable of Scotland, on his right hand, and William Keith, Earl Marshal, Lord Great Marshal of Scotland, on his left, to the Chamber of Presence, and there was placed a chair under a cloath of State by Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus, Lord Great Chamberlain appointed by the King for that day; and there, after a little repose, the Peers or Noblemen, with the Barons or Commissioners for Shires and Burgesses or Commissioners for Burrows, entered the Hall, and presented themselves before His Majesty. Thereafter John Campbell, Earl of Loudon, the Lord Chancellor, spoke to the King to this purpose :—"Sir,—Your good subjects desire you may be crowned as the righteous and lawful heir of the Crown of this Kingdom, that you would maintain religion as it is presently professed and established conform to the National Covenant and Solemn League and Covenant, and according to your declaration at Dunfermline in August last, also that you would be graciously pleased to receive them under your Highness' protection, and to govern them by the laws of the Kingdom, and defend them in their rights and liberties by your Royal power. Offering themselves in most humble manner to your Majesty; with their vows to bestow land, life, and what else is in their power for the maintenance of religion, for the safety of your Majesty's sacred person, and maintenance of your Crown, which they entreat your Majesty to accept, and pray Almighty God that for many years you may happily enjoy the same." The King made this answer :—"I do esteem the affections of my good people more than the crowns of many kingdoms, and shall be ready by God's assistance to bestow my life in their defence, wishing to live no longer than I may see religion and this kingdom flourish in all happiness."

There was erected a platform about four foot high from the ground between the Palace of Scoon and the Kirk. The procession being to pass from the door of the Hall in the Palace towards the east through the Palace Green to the entrance into the Kirk by a window opened on purpose, and the Regalia being brought from a Chamber in the Palace in which

they were, were laid upon a table, were given to the Peers who were to carry them. Then the King and the Parliament passed in procession to the Kirk in the following order, and manner :—

Two trumpeters in their Coats, bare-headed, ushering the way.
 Kintyre Pursuivant, Ormond Pursuivant,
 Bare-headed in their Coats.
 Four doorkeepers of the Court of Justice, bare-headed.
 Burgesses, two and two, in their Cloaks, their caps in hand.
 Bute Pursuivant, Carrick Pursuivant,
 Bareheaded in their Coats.
 Barons, two and two, in their Cloaks, their caps in hand.
 Master of Request in his Cloak, and cap in hand. Treasurer Depute in his Cloak, and cap in hand.
 ——— Carmichael, Sir Thos. Hope of Craighall,
 Lord Justice Clerk in his Cloak, and cap in hand. Lord Advocate in his Cloak, and cap in hand.
 Lord Register
 in his Cloak, and cap in hand.
 Two doorkeepers of the Council, bare-headed.
 Two trumpeters in their Coats, bare-headed.
 Unicorn Pursuivant, Dingwall Pursuivant,
 Bare-headed in their Coats.
 Lords in their Robes of State and their caps in hand, two and two.
 Marchmont Herald, Snodoun Herald,
 Bare-headed in their Coats.
 Viscounts in their Robes of Estate, their Coronets in their hands, two and two.
 Isla Herald, Rothsay Herald,
 Bare-headed in their Coats.
 Earls in their Robes of Estate, their Coronets in their hands, two and two.
 John Kennedy, Earl of Cassils, Lord Secretary, in his Robes of Estate and his Coronet in hand. John Gordon, Earl of Sutherland, Lord Privy Seal, in his Robes of Estate and his Coronet in hand.
 John Lesley, Earl of Rothes, Lord President of the Privy Council, carried the Sword of State, and walked in that rank. John Lindsay, Earl of Crawford and Lindsay, Lord Treasurer, carried the Sceptre, and walked in that rank.
 John Campbell, Earl of Loudon, Lord High Chancellor, in his Robes of Estate, and his Coronet in his hand.
 Marquises—None present. The three Marquises of Huntly, Douglas, and Montrose were incapacitated, being comprehended in the Act of Classes, and not yet restored to their places, and the Marquis of Argyle carried the Crown.
 Dukes—None present. The Duke of Lennox being in England, and the Duke of Hamilton was incapacitated, being comprehended in the Act of Classes, and not yet restored to his places.
 Two trumpeters in their Coats, bare-headed.

Albany Herald, Ross Herald,
 Bare-headed in their Coats.
 Sir Wm. Cockburn of Langton, Gentleman Usher,
 with cap in hand.
 Sir James Balfour of Denmill, Lyon King of Arms, in his habit,
 and his Coronet in his hand.
 Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus, Lord Great Chamberlain of Scotland, in his
 Robes of State, with his Coronet and White Staff in his hand.
 The King's Regalia.

The Spurs, borne by Alexr. Mongomerie, Earl of Eglinton, in his robes of Estate, and his Coronet in his hand.

The Sword of State, borne by John Lesley, Earl of Rothes, in his Robes of State, and his Coronet in his hand.

The Sceptre, borne by John Lindsay, Earl of Crawford and Lindsay, in his robes of State, and his Coronet in his hand.

The Crown was borne by Archibald Campbell, Marquis of Argyle, in his robes of State, immediately before the King, and two Gentlemen on each hand, one carrying the Marquis of Argyle's Coronet and another carrying his Staff.

Then came the King, with Gilbert Hay, High Constable, on his right hand, in his robes of State, his Coronet and his Staff in his hand, and William Keith, Earl Marshal, Great Marshal, in robes of State, his Coronet and his Marshal's Staff in his hand.

His train being supported by John Erskine, Lord Erskine, Hugh Montgomerie, Lord Montgomerie, Robert Kerr, Lord Newbattle, and James Campbell, Lord Mauchlane, four Earls' eldest sons, under a canopy of crimson velvet, borne by six Earls' eldest sons—to wit, James Drummond, Lord Drummond, George Ramsay, Lord Ramsay David, Carnegie, Lord Carnegie, James Johnston, Lord Johnston, George Maule, Lord Brechin, and John Hay, Lord Yester, and the six bearers supported by six Noblemen's younger sons.

In this manner the King entered the Church about ten o'clock, the whole being closed by the King's guard under Sir Thomas Lavington of Kinnaird, their Captain.

The Kirk being fitted up and prepared with a table, whereupon the Regalia were laid, and a chair set in a fitting place near the Pulpit for His Majesty hearing the Sermon, over against the Minister, and another chair on the North side of the Church, where he sat when he received the Crown, before which there was a Bench covered with green velvet, as also seats about for Noblemen, Barons, and Burgesses to sit on. And there being also a Stage erected to the eastward of the pulpit, in the middle of the Church, of 24 foot square, about four foot from the ground, covered with carpet, with two stairs, one from the west, another to the east, upon which great stage, there was another little stage erected, two foot high, ascending by two steps, on which the Throne or Chair of State was set.

The Kirk thus fitly prepared and well accommodate, the King and his train, having having entered the same, he sat down in his chair for hearing of Sermon, and all being quietly composed unto attention, Mr. Robert Douglas, Moderator of the Commission of the General Assembly, after prayer, preached the Coronation Sermon from II. Kings, chap. xi., v. 12th and 17th—"And he brought forth the King's Son, and put the Crown upon him, and gave him the testimony, and they made him King and anointed him, and they clap'd their hands and said God save the King. And Jehoiada made a Covenant between the

Lord and the King and the people, that they should be the Lord's people." Sermon being ended, prayer was made for a blessing upon the doctrine delivered.

The King being to renew the Covenants—first the National Covenant, then the Solemn League and Covenant, were read distinctly. After the reading of these Covenants, the Minister prayed for Grace to perform the contents of the Covenants, and for faithful Stedfastness, in the Oath of God, and then (the Ministers, Commissioners of the General Assembly desired to be present standing before the pulpit) he ministered the Oath unto the King, who kneeling and lifting up his right hand, did swear in the words following :—"I, Charles, King of Great Britain, and France, and Ireland, do assure and declare, by my solemn Oath in the presence of Almighty God, the searcher of hearts, my allowance and approbation of the National Covenant and of the Solemn League and Covenant above-written, and faithfully oblige myself to prosecute the ends thereof in my station and calling, and that I for myself and successors shall consent and agree to all Acts of Parliament enjoining the National Covenant and the Solemn League and Covenant, and fully establishing presbyterial government, the directory for worship, confession of faith, and catechisms in the Kingdom of Scotland, as they are approved by the General Assemblies of this Kirk and Parliament of this Kingdom, and that I shall give my Royal assent to Acts and Ordinances of Parliament passed or to be passed, enjoining the same in my other dominions. And that I shall observe these in my own practice and family, and shall never make opposition to any of these, or endeavour any change thereof." After the King had thus solemnly sworn the National Covenant and the Solemn League and Covenant, these and the King's Oath subjoined unto both, being drawn upon a fair parchment, the King did subscribe the same in presence of all. Thereafter the King ascended the stage, and sat down on the Throne or Chair of State. The High Constable and Great Marshal went to the four corners of the stage, with the Lyon King at Arms going before them, who spoke to the people in these words :—"Sirs,—I present unto you the King Charles, the rightful or undoubted heir of the Crown and dignity of this Realm. This day is by the Parliament of this Kingdom appointed for his Coronation. And are ye not willing to have him for your King, and become subject to his Commandment." In which action the King's Majesty stood up, showing himself to the people in each corner, and the people expressed their willingness by cheering acclamations in these words. "God save the King, Charles the Second." Then the King's Majesty, supported by the High Constable and Great Marshal, came down from the stage, and sat down in the chair where he heard the Sermon. The Minister, accompanied by the Ministers before mentioned, came from the Pulpit towards the King, and required if he was willing to take the Oath appointed to be taken at the Coronation. The King answered that he was most willing. Then the Oath of Coronation, as it is contained in the 8th Act of the first Parliament of King James the Sixth, being read by the Lyon King at Arms, the tenor thereof followeth—"Because that the increase of virtue and suppressing of idolatry craveth that the Prince and the people be of one perfect religion ; which of God's mercy is now presently professed in this Realm ; therefore it is statute and ordained by our Sovereign Lord, my Lord Regent, and the three Estates, of this present Parliament, that all Kings, Princes, and Magistrates whatsoever, which hereafter at any time shall happen to reign and bear rule over this realm, at the time of their Coronation and receipt of their princely authority, make their faithful promise, in the presence of the Eternal God, that enduring the whole course of their lives, they shall serve the same Eternal God to the uttermost of their power according as he hath required in his most

holy Word, revealed and contained in the Old and New Testments ; and according to the same word shall maintain the true religion of Christ Jesus, the preaching of His holy Word, and due and right ministration of the Sacraments now received and preached within the Realm ; and shall abolish and gainstand all false religion contrary to the same : and shall rule the people committed to their charge according to the will and command of God revealed in his foresaid Word, and according to the loveable laws and constitutions received in this Realm, noways repugnant to the said Word of the Eternal God, and shall procure to the uttermost of their power to the Kirk of God and whole Christian people true and perfect peace in time coming. The rights and rents, with all just privileges of the Crown of Scotland to preserve and keep inviolate. Neither shall they transfer nor alienate the same. They shall forbid and repress in all estates and degrees riote, oppression, and all kind of wrong. In all Judgment they shall command and procure that Justice and equity be kept to all creatures without exception as the Father and Lord of Mercies be merciful to them. And out of their Lands and empire they shall be careful to root out all hereticks and enemies to the true worship of God, that shall be convict by the true Kirk of God of the foresaid, crimes, and they shall faithfully affirm the things above written by their solemn Oath."

The Minister tendered the Oath unto the King, who kneeling, and holding up his right hand, sware in these words :—"By the Eternal and Almighty God, who liveth and reigneth for ever, I shall observe and keep all that is contained in this Oath." This done, the King's Majesty sat down in his chair, and reposed himself a little. Then the King arose from his chair, and was disrobed by the Lord Great Chamberlain of that princely robe wherewith he entered the Kirk, and was invested by the said Chamberlain in his royal robes. Thereafter the King was brought to the chair on the north side of the Church, supported as formerly, the Sword of State was brought by Sir William Cockburn of Langton, gentleman usher, from the table, and delivered to Lyon King at Arms, who gave it to the High Constable, who put the same in the King's hand, saying—"Sir, receive this kingly sword for the defence of the faith of Christ and protection of his Kirk and of the true religion as it is presently professed within this Kingdom, and according to the National Covenant and League and Covenant, and for executing equity and Justice, and for punishment of all iniquity and injustice." This done, the High Constable received the sword from the King and girded the same about the King's side. Thereafter the King sat down in his chair, and then the spurs were put on him by the Great Marshal, but immediately taken off by the Chamberlain, and delivered to Earl of Eglinton to hold during the solemnity, because they would have been troublesome to his Majesty. Thereafter Archibald, Marquis of Argyle, having taken the Crown in his hand, the Minister prayed to this purpose—that the Lord would purge the Crown from the Sins and transgressions of them that did reign before him, that it might be a pure Crown, that God would settle the Crown upon the King's head ; and since men that set it on were not able to settle it, that the Lord would put it on and preserve it. *And the said Marquis put the Crown on the King's head.* Which done, the Lyon King at Arms, the High Constable standing by him, caused an Herald to call all the Noblemen one by one, according to their precedence, who, coming before the King kneeling, and with their hand touching the Crown on the King's head, sware these words :—"By the Eternal and Almighty God who liveth and reigneth for ever, I shall support thee to my uttermost ;" and when they had done, then all the nobility held up their hands and sware to be Loyal and true subjects and faithful to the Crown.

The Great Marshal, with the Lyon King at Arms, going to the four corners of the stage, the Lyon proclaimed the obligatory Oath of the people; and the people holding up their hands all the time did swear by the Eternal God who liveth, reigneth, and abideth for ever—"We become your Liege men, and truth and faith shall bear unto you, and live and die with you, against all manner of folks whatsoever in your service, according to the National Covenant and Solemn League and Covenant." The Marquises, the Earls, and Viscounts put on their Coronet; the Lords, the Officers of State, not Noblemen, the Barons and Burgesses put on their caps; and the Lyon King at Arms likewise put on his Coronet. Then did the Great Chamberlain wore the sword wherewith the King was girded, and drew it and delivered it drawn into the King's hand, and the King put it into the hand of the High Constable to carry it naked before him. Then John, Earl of Crawford and Lindsay, took the Sceptre, and put it in the King's right hand, saying—"Sir, receive the Sceptre, the sign of Royal power of the Kingdom, that you may govern yourself right and defend all the Christian people committed by God to your charge, punishing the wicked and protecting the just. Then the King ascended the stage attended by the Officers of the Crown and nobility, and was installed in the Royal throne by Archibald, Marquess of Argyle, saying—"Stand and hold fast from henceforth the place whereof you are the lawful and righteous heir by a long and lineal succession of your fathers, which is now delivered unto you by the authority of Almighty God."

When the King was set down upon the throne, the Minister gave the King a pertinent and solid exhortation as to his future conduct. Which done, the Lord Chancellor went to the four corners of the stage, the Lyon King at Arms going before him, and proclaimed His Majesty's free pardon to all breakers of penal Statutes, and made offer thereof. Whereupon the people cried God save the King. Then the King supported by the High Constable and Great Marshal, and accompanied with the Chancellor, arose from the throne and went out at a door prepared for the purpose to a stage, and shewed himself to the people without, who clapped their hands and cried with a loud voice a long time, "God save the King."

Then the King turning and sitting down upon the throne delivered the sceptre to John, Earl of Crawford and Lindsay, to be borne by him till the solemnity was concluded. Thereafter the Lyon King at Arms rehearsed the Royal line of the Kings upwards to Fergus the First.

Then the Lyon called the Nobles, one by one, who, kneeling and holding their hands betwixt the King's hands, did swear these words: "By the Eternal God who liveth and reigneth for ever, I do become your Leigeman, and truth and faith bear unto you, and live and die with you against all manner of folks whatever in your service according to the National and Solemn League and Covenant." Every one of them kissed the King's left cheek. When these solemnities were ended, the Minister, standing before the King, on his throne pronounced this blessing—"The Lord bless thee and save thee, the Lord hear thee in the day of trouble, the name of the God of Jacob defend thee; the Lord send thee help from the Sanctuary and strengthen thee out of Zion. Amen."

After this blessing pronounced, the Minister went to the Pulpit, and had an exhortation to the King, the Nobles, and the people, the King still sitting upon his throne. After this exhortation the Minister blessed the whole action with prayer, and the 20th Psalm being sung, he dismissed the people with the blessing.

Then the King's Majesty descended from the stage with the crown upon his head, and

receiving again the Sceptre into his hand, returned to the Palace with the whole train in solemn procession as before, with this difference, that the former carriers of the Sceptre, Sword, and Spurs took their proper stations, the Spurs being borne by the Great Marshal, and the Sword of State borne by the High Constable immediately before the King, who was supported by Archibald, Marquis of Argyle, on his right hand, and the Great Chamberlain on his left, and entered the Hall about four o'clock at night, where a grand dinner was prepared, to which His Majesty and the Estates immediately sat down, His Majesty wearing the Crown all the time. The Sceptre, Sword, and Spurs were laid down upon a table in the Hall, and afterwards carried with the Crown into a Chamber in the Palace, the night being concluded with all demonstrations of joy in Perth, with ringing of bells and illumination, and on all high places far and near with bonfires and other demonstrations of joy. I shall here give a description of the Regalia of Scotland used at this Coronation, viz., the Crown, Sceptre, and Sword, which now by the Union Act are to be used no more, but kept in the Castle of Edinburgh."

APPENDIX II.

TRANSLATION OF THE BULL OF POPE JOHN XXII.

"From the beginning of the War of Independence, the right of the new monarch to receive the solemn sanction of the anointing, had become a topic of interest, and like every particular of the Scottish claim had been stated and argued by the parties pleading to Rome and in the face of the world with all the keenness, and some of the misrepresentations which are to be found in pleadings of inferior courts. The power of Edward I. was perhaps more effectual than the arguments of his advocates in prevailing on the Pope to resist the wishes of the Scottish people. But when the tide of success had turned, Bruce obtained a hearing at Rome. "The success of his arms and the wisdom of his counsels had silenced the opposition of England, and the privilege so long coveted was conceded at last. It came too late for Bruce himself, who died at Cardross a few days before the bulls passed the seals at Avignon; but it served to authorise the Coronation of David II. The Bull of Pope John, though, like all Papal bulls, a handsomely written document, is also a specimen of the involved verbosity of the Roman Chancery of that day." Mr. Cosmo Innes—Introduction to *National MSS. of Scotland*, part ii. In that volume the Bull (which is preserved in the Advocates, Library, Edinburgh), is given in *fac simile*, transcript, and translation. The translation is as follows :—

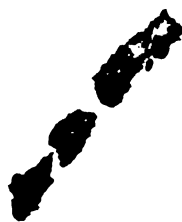
"John the Bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his dearest Son in Christ, Robert the illustrious King of Scotland. Greeting and Apostolic benediction. By the Most High, the Eternal King of the heavenly kingdom, through Whom all kings reign and princes bear rule, the power of temporal sword has been given to them for the punishment of evil-doers and the praise of them that do well, that they may judge in righteousness the people, and in the earth rule the nations placed under their dominion, and that their pleasure may be in the execution of justice and their meditation in the law of uprightness and the observance of good

peace, for the more perfect exercise whereof the said kings, by virtue of the sacred anointing which according to ancient usage they received at the hands of the venerable ministers of God, obtained the gift of more special grace, both that they may be strengthened in the prosecution of good government, and, as well in what regards themselves as in things touching their subjects, be governed by a more prudent and sanctified spirit. For powerful is the efficacy of such anointing on Kings, insomuch that when Saul was anointed the Spirit of the Lord descended upon him, and he was changed into another man; and upon David, as soon as he was anointed, the Spirit of the Lord was sent down. To shadow forth also that in kings there ought to be a fulness of the virtues and the complete authority of the temporal dominion, a diadem of honour in circular shape is placed upon the head of the Prince, that from him who had been adorned with such insignia, and distinguished by such titles, as from the head, to his subjects, as to the members, the example of right living and the rule of moderation may be displayed. With good reason you, as a most devoted son of the Church and a Catholic prince, devoutly regarding the dew of spiritual grace which by such anointing is poured on, are led fervently to desire that the Roman Church, Mother and Mistress of you and of all the faithful, would vouchsafe the strength of her authority and bestow the protection of the Apostolic sanction, that to you, and the Catholic princes who shall lawfully succeed you in the foresaid kingdom, such anointing and coronation by the sacred hand of a pontiff may be bestowed; especially since, as we have learned from the tenor of your petition both you and your predecessors the Kings of Scotland have from the most ancient times been wont to receive the insignia of royal dignity from the Bishops of S. Andrews who were for the time. Wherefore you, by your special ambassadors whom expressly for this purpose you have despatched to the Apostolic See, have humbly supplicated us that we would deign of our special favour to grant by Apostolic authority to you that you and your successors Kings of Scotland may receive coronation and anointing with the other symbols of royalty from the Bishop of S. Andrews who shall be for the time, he being willing and able, but otherwise from another Bishop (Antistite) of the kingdom of Scotland. Seeing therefore, the devoutness of your sincerity in many ways manifested, and considering that you will study to shew yourself so much the more prompt in obedience to the Holy See as you perceive it more propitious and benignant to you, We yielded a ready assent to your supplications, by the advice of our brethren, Grant, by the tenor of those presents, that both you and your successors who shall lawfully succeed you in the foresaid kingdom, continuing in devotion to the Roman Church may receive anointing and the Royal Crown from the Bishop of S. Andrews, or if he happened to be unwilling without reasonable cause, or even unable as aforesaid to perform the same, then from the Bishop of Glasgow who is or shall be for the time, he having the favour and communion of the Apostolic See; and the said Bishop of S. Andrews, or, he being unwilling or even unable as aforesaid to perform the same, the said Bishop of Glasgow with Apostolic authority, bringing with him a becoming number of bishops for the shewing respect to the King and reverence to the sacred anointing, shall have power in manner due to anoint you and your successors foresaid, and by authority aforesaid, to place the Royal Crown on your and their heads; Saving always, however, the rights of the Roman Church, and of any other, in all things. We will moreover that the said bishop, who shall perform the premises as aforesaid, take from the said kings at the times of such anointing and coronation, in our name and in that of the said Roman Church, their bodily Oath that they shall endeavour, in good faith according to their power, to

exterminate all heretics denounced by the Church from the foresaid kingdom and their other lands and those subject to their authority, and that they shall not presume by themselves or by other to injure or diminish the liberties and immunities of the Church; nay, shall defend the same, and shall preserve them unimpaired, and cause them to be kept in their integrity by their subjects.

To none at all, therefore, of mankind be it lawful to infringe this page of our grant and will, or with rash presumption go against it. And if any one presume to attempt this, let him know that he will incur the wrath of Almighty God, and of the blessed Peter and Paul His Apostles.

Given at Avignon on the ides of June, of our Pontificate the thirteenth year.



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